18. A long and tumultuous debate took place, reſpecting the votes decreeing the death of Louis Capet the preceding day. A few alledged the ſecretaries had taken ſome of them wrong down. The whole members, therefore, voted over again.

When the *Appel Nominal* was terminated, the preſident announced, that it was found that the ſentence of death pronounced yeſterday upon Louis had been carried by a majority of *twenty-ſeven* votes.

The determination of the queſtion of delay was adjourned to next day, after a good deal of altercation.

At eleven o'clock the ſitting had not been opened on account of the abſence of the Preſident Vergniaud: it was demanded that he ſhould be cenſured, but he was exempted on account of being indiſpoſed. Barriere took the chair.

Choudieu. I demand that we paſs to the order of the day, and that we decree the queſtion of delay.

Several members were of the ſame opinion.

Marat. I demand that the Aſſembly decree that there is no room to deliberate on the queſtion of delay, and that the tyrant be ſent to puniſhment within twenty-four hours.

Bujot gave it as his opinion, that the execution of the ſentence of death ſhould be deferred till the expulſion of all the Bourbons.

Thuriot. What is this ſtrange ſyſtem of ſacrificing all the Bourbons? thoſe who have done nothing againſt their country, while they have not the courage to ſpeak to you of thoſe infamous men who conſpired againſt liberty, and, while they knew all the crimes of the tyrant, attempted to ſave him. I conclude, with demanding, that Louis be executed within twenty-four hours, and that the executive council be charged to take the meaſures neceſſary to enſure the public ſafety.

Condorcet. Whatever courſe you purſue, there are doubtleſs dangers which you cannot avoid. Hitherto we have had only to combat Kings, and armies attached to the cauſe of tyrants by ſevere diſcipline. The people have remained in a ſtate of uncertainty, the effect of which has been favourable to us. Let us prove to the world that we are not barbarians; and that, if we wiſh for the death of the tyrant, we wiſh alſo for the happineſs of mankind. Let us ſtrike the *ci-devant* King, but let us aboliſh the puniſhment of death for all private crimes, and reſerve it only for treaſon. Let us haſten to eſtabliſh beneficent laws, to form a ſyſtem of public inſtruction, and to meliorate the management of our hoſpitals.

Briſſot. I vote for a reſpite till the new Conſtitution ſhall be ratified. If you purſue another courſe, you muſt declare war againſt England, Spain, and Holland. Give an example of moderation, and a revolution will be accompliſhed throughout all Europe.

Thomas Paine appeared at the tribune, and as he was unacquainted with the French language, Bancal read a tranſlation of his opinion, the ſubſtance of which was as follows: "I prefer an error occaſioned by humanity, to an error occaſioned by ſeverity. You have no other ally than the United States of America. Louis is the beſt friend of theſe people, who conſider themſelves as indebted to him for their liberty. Were I acquainted with the French language, I ſhould appear at your bar, and preſent to you in the name of my American brethren, a petition for a reſpite. The news of this execution will give great pain to theſe ſons of Freedom. You ought not to adopt ſuch rigorous meaſures. Louis Capet has doubtleſs betrayed the French nation, but the miſchief he has done, has been the effect of prejudice, and of his condition. Had he been the ſon of a farmer, I am certain he would not have been a bad man. He has been brought into his preſent melancholy ſituation, not ſo much by his own fault, as by that of the Conſtituent Aſſembly. I demand then, That Louis may be baniſhed with all his family to the American States."

The Preſident then declared the reſult of the *appel nominal*.—Of 743 * members, 17 were abſent by commiſſion, 21 from ſickneſs, 8 without any aſſigned reaſon, 12 did not vote, 310 voted for delaying the execution of the ſentence, and 380 againſt delaying it.

Some members, when they voted, wiſhed to aſſign their reaſons, but this was oppoſed by the Convention, and the members were permitted to pronounce only, Yes or No.

The Convention then ordered their

* 745 was ſuppoſed the number, as fixed according to the principles of the national repreſentation; but the junction of Avignon introduced three more.

decree

decree to be immediately notified to the executive council, with orders to give an account to-morrow at 11 o'clock, of the measures taken to put it in execution within twenty-four hours!

The sitting rose at two o'clock on Sunday morning.

20. Cambaceres said, Citizens, by pronouncing sentence of death against the last King of the French, you have done an act, the remembrance of which will not pass away, and which will be recorded by the graver of immortality in the annals of history. Public safety could alone prescribe to you that awful decree. Since it is passed, I stand up, in the name of Humanity, to call your attention to the person who is the object of it. Let us allow him every possible consolation: and let us take proper measures to prevent the execution of the national will from being sullied with any stain. I move, therefore, the following propositions:

"I. The Executive Council shall be charged to notify the decree of death to Louis in the course of the day; to cause it to be executed within twenty-four hours after it has been notified to him; and to be careful that no insult be offered to the remains of Louis.

"II. The Mayor and Municipal Officers of Paris shall be enjoined to suffer Louis to communicate freely with his family, and to have with him such priests as he may desire in his last moments."

These propositions were unanimously adopted.

The minister of justice informed the Convention, that he, the president of the Executive Council, &c. went together this morning to the Temple. At two o'clock they were brought to Louis, to whom the minister of justice said, "Louis, the executive council has been charged to notify to you the minutes of the National Convention." The secretary then proceeded to read these minutes.

Louis answered by reading a written paper signed with his own hand. We returned to the council, which decreed, that we should submit to you the writing delivered by Louis, of which I shall now read you a copy.

THE LAST REQUESTS OF LOUIS.

"I demand a delay of three days in order to make the necessary preparations to appear in the presence of God; —I demand for that purpose to send for and to see freely the person whom I shall name—M. Eschevaux de Fermont; that his person be secured from all disturbance, from all apprehension on account of the last offices of charity which he shall render me.

"I demand to be freed from that perpetual inspection, which the council general has established over me for some months.

"I demand in this interval, to be able to see my family as often as I shall request, and without witness.

"I would request, that the National Convention would immediately proceed to deliberate on the fate of my family, and permit them to retire freely, wherever it may think proper.

"I recommend to the nation all the persons who were attached to me. There are many of them who have expended all their fortunes to purchase places under the new government, and who, having now lost their sole dependence, must be in circumstances of want. Among my pensioners were many aged and indigent persons, who had no other means of support except the pension which I gave them (Signed) LOUIS."

Done at the Temple, Jan. 20. 1793.

Cambaceres. Louis Capet has only made those demands, because they did not inform him of the decree passed yesterday on my proposition, in which the greater part of his requests are anticipated. I demand, on that ground, that we should pass to the order of the day.

The Convention decreed, that Louis should be allowed to call whatever minister of religion he might think proper, and to see his family without witnesses.

They authorised the executive council to inform him, that the nation, always great, and always just, would attend to the lot of his family.

Respecting the demand made in favour of those who depended on him for their subsistence, the Convention passed to the order of the day, because such persons had a right to appear, and to request payment, or some other indemnity, if debts are due to them.

The Convention passed also to the order of the day, on the demand made by Louis, that the execution of the sentence might be delayed three days, and on the demand to be freed from the perpetual inspection of the council general.

21. A note from Louis was read, in which he requested to be buried in the cathedral church of Sens, close to his father. The Convention passed to the order of the day.

PAR-

PARLIAMENT.

In the Houſe of Commons, Feb. 18. Mr Fox ſaid, upon the ſubject of the war with France, which had been ſo often diſcuſſed in one ſhape or other, little new matter could be expected to ariſe: he ſhould not therefore trouble the Houſe at great length. We were involved in a war, which it had been his endeavour to have averted; but as we were involved in it, he acknowledged the neceſſity of ſupporting it; for on that point there could not be any difference of opinion. The more he felt the neceſſity, however, of ſupporting the war, the more ſtrongly he felt it to be his duty to object to thoſe meaſures which had involved us in the calamity. The Right Hon. Gentleman here went over the reaſons aſſigned for the war. He then dwelt for ſome time upon the conduct of Ruſſia's invaſion of Poland, for adopting a conſtitution which had been urged on, and ſanctioned by Pruſſia; which power had, after the invaſion by Ruſſia, juſtified that invaſion, and the overthrow of the conſtitution he had ſanctioned, and had alſo, for the effectual ſuppreſſion of what Pruſſia had deemed dangerous principles, ſeized by force upon Dantzic and Thorn. But the conduct of Ruſſia and Pruſſia, though to many it appeared to carry with it views of aggrandiſement, had in no degree diſturbed adminiſtration — their conduct then to France was to be judged of by their conduct to other powers; Pruſſia and Ruſſia had aggrandiſed themſelves without any attack having been made upon them—France had aggrandiſed herſelf after having been attacked, and having been urged on by fear and by rage—the aggrandiſement therefore by Pruſſia and Ruſſia was marked by far greater enormity than that by France; but as the former had paſſed by diſregarded, it was fair for him to draw a concluſion, that the aggrandiſement by France was not the true ground for the war, but that the true ground was to interfere in their internal affairs, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing a particular form of government in that country. But whatever views had actuated miniſters, the Houſe ought to ſhew that they were not actuated by any improper motives in the war againſt France—they ought explicitly to declare that the war they meant to ſupport was not a war for interfering in the internal affairs of France; and for that purpoſe, and to eſtabliſh the principles he had frequently ſtated to the Houſe, he ſhould ſuggeſt for their adoption five reſolutions:

Firſt, that it was not for the honour of Great Britain to make war on France for any interference in her internal affairs, or for the eſtabliſhment of any particular form of government in that country.

Secondly, That the aggreſſions of France were not of ſuch a nature as to juſtify a war in the firſt inſtance, prior to a negotiation to obtain explanation and redreſs.

Thirdly, That in the late negotiation his Majeſty's miniſters had not purſued meaſures likely to obtain redreſs—nor to avert a war, not having ſtated the grounds upon which peace might have been maintained.

Fourthly, That the rights of neutral nations had not been attended to by his Majeſty's miniſters, in their neglect of interfering againſt the late unjuſtifiable and abominable invaſion of Poland by Ruſſia and Pruſſia. And,

Fifthly, That it is the duty of his Majeſty's miniſters to adviſe his Majeſty againſt entering into any treaty which might retard or prevent his making a ſeparate peace with France.

The Right Hon. Gentleman obſerved, that the laſt ſuggeſted reſolution he ſubmitted to the Houſe as a fair inference from the principles contained in the preceding four. He concluded by moving his firſt reſolution.

Mr Burke roſe in oppoſition to the Right Hon. Gentleman's motions, obſerving, that every one of the propoſitions now before the Houſe, and every one ſuggeſted by the Right Hon. Gentleman on the ſubject, were merely copies from the clumſy daubers in France, where the arguments on which the Right Hon. Gentleman had reſted, had been advanced, with predictions that the ſame arguments would be uſed in this country.—With reſpect to Poland, Mr Burke obſerved, that this country had for conſiderably more than a century ſeen various revolutions in Poland—various attacks upon her, and even a partition, without ever having ſtirred her hand to prevent them; nor had the Right Hon. Gentleman ever before the preſent moment ſuggeſted the propriety of an interference. The preſent moment, however, when the nation was involved in a war, was that thought fit to be embraced for ſuch a novelty. But of all the new things which the revolution in France had given

riſe to, he conſidered that to be the neweſt in the Houſe which was now propoſed, namely, at the moment when an enemy was exerting every effort, every artifice to deſtroy our very exiſtence, and when we had entered on a war for our defence and preſervation, to hold out a general condemnation of ſuch war in all its points—to ſay how far we ſhall carry it—and to bind ourſelves down to certain conditions for a peace. But the Right Hon Gentleman ſeeing France juſt in all her tranſactions—juſt in her fraternizing principles—juſt in her ſeizing of Savoy—juſt in her ſeizure of the Netherlands—juſt in her planting her ſterile tree of Liberty in Brabant—and juſt in her war againſt Great Britain—he might be conſidered the advocate of that country, which ſhould hereafter be ſtyled France the Juſt. The Rt Hon. Gentleman, next alluding to the proceedings in France, drew the attention of the Houſe to the indemnity lately paſſed by the Aſſembly for the murders committed in Paris—for the reaſon, that they were all concerned, and leſt the puniſhment of them ſhould deter an imitation in this country. He held out the atrocious and ſacrilegious murder of the King of France as an act perpetrated by the French for an example to the deſtruction of all Kings; and declared himſelf to be an advocate, though he might ſtand alone, for an interference with the internal affairs of France, which he thought a juſt ground of war, as her internal government was by no means local, but contained principles of fraternity interfering with, and deſtructive of all governments.—Mr Burke next juſtified every reſiſtance which had been made to Mr Fox's propoſition for ſending an ambaſſador to France, for in France he ſaid there exiſted no power to treat with—all was proviſionary, and might have but the exiſtence of a moment. —The Right Hon. Gentleman here took a review of the leading characters in France, Monſieur Roland, Le Brun, Pache, &c. &c. none of whom appeared fit men to treat with.—There was, to be ſure, he ſaid, a Monſieur Condorcet and a Monſieur Briſſot, whom ſome in this country held in high eſtimation; but to him Condorcet appeared but the moſt humane of murderers, and Monſieur Briſſot the moſt virtuous of pickpockets.—Were ſuch men as theſe fit to be treated with by England? Or was a Monſ. Egalité, alias the Duke of Orleans, alias Orleans, a character with whom this country could gain honour by a negotiation?—If any ſuch men, or Dumourier, was to be treated with, ſend and treat with them.—But who would be the ambaſſador? Who would treat with this hierarchy of anarchy, where the only man of common decency was the common hangman? He was confident the Right Hon. Gentleman, who had propoſed the ſending an ambaſſador, would not accept the office; but a ſtateſman might be allowed to ſacrifice others to a forlorn hope which he might not wiſh to expoſe himſelf to. But he might ſend a grenadier for an ambaſſador to France, as ſhe had to Naples, and as ſhe would to Great Britain, if Great Britain was equally in her power:—he begged pardon however for ſuggeſting the ſending a grenadier, being convinced that no Britiſh grenadier would accept the office. After dwelling for ſome time upon this point, he ridiculed the boaſted lights which regenerated France had exhibited to the world; they were not, he ſaid, the lights of Heaven—the lights of reaſon, but ſuch lights as aroſe from rotten wood and ſtinking fiſh—ſerving alone to exhibit their corruption. He concluded againſt the motion, by declaring his hoſtility to every thing which tended to effect a peace with France as ſhe now was, predicting that the ſeal put to ſuch a peace, would be putting a ſeal to the death-warrant of our King, and operate to the utter deſtruction of the Britiſh conſtitution.

Mr Grey replied to Mr Burke; and after ſeveral others had ſpoken, the previous queſtion was put and carried, Ayes 270, Noes 44; majority 226.—Mr Fox's motions were of courſe loſt.

On Feb. 21. Mr Grey, purſuant to his promiſe, roſe to make a motion, as a ſolemn proteſt againſt the meaſures of adminiſtration, which had involved the country in a calamitous war.—He did not expect the Houſe to agree to the motion; it would, however, afford him ſatisfaction if they did; for by agreeing with it, he ſhould think they would ſave their country from the ruin with which it was threatened. He was fully aware, he ſaid, of the calumny thrown upon all who attempted to oppoſe the war, but it was a calumny he was ſo far from being afraid to meet, that he courted it; and wiſhing it to be remembered that he had done every thing in his power to maintain the peace of the country, he now came forward with a motion expreſſive of the ſentiments he had invariably held

held and maintained on the ſubject.—He concluded by moving,

"That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to aſſure his Majeſty that his faithful Commons, animated by a ſincere and dutiful attachment to his perſon and family, and to the excellent conſtitution of this kingdom, as well as by an ardent zeal for the intereſt and honour of the nation, will at all times be ready to ſupport his Majeſty in any meaſures which a due obſervance of the faith of treaties, the dignity of his crown, or the ſecurity of his dominions, may compel him to undertake.

That feeling the moſt earneſt ſolicitude to avert from our country the calamities of war, by every means conſiſtent with honour and with ſafety, we expreſſed to his Majeſty, at the opening of the preſent ſeſſion, "our ſenſe of the temper and prudence which had induced his Majeſty to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality with reſpect to the war on the continent, and uniformly to abſtain from any interference in the internal affairs of France;" and our hope that the ſteps his Majeſty had taken, would have the happy tendency "to render a firm and temperate conduct effectual for preſerving the bleſſings of peace."

That with the deepeſt concern we now find ourſelves obliged to relinquiſh that hope, without any evidence having been produced to ſatisfy us that his Majeſty's miniſters have made ſuch efforts as it was their duty to make, and as, by his Majeſty's moſt gracious ſpeech, we were taught to expect, for the preſervation of peace.—It is no leſs the reſolution than the duty of his Majeſty's faithful Commons to ſecond his efforts in the war thus fatally commenced, ſo long as it ſhall continue; but we deem it a duty equally incumbent upon us to ſolicit his Majeſty's attention to thoſe reaſons or pretexts, by which his ſervants have laboured to juſtify a conduct on their part which we cannot but conſider as having contributed, in a great meaſure, to produce the preſent rupture.

Various grounds of hoſtility againſt France have been ſtated, but none that appeared to us to have conſtituted ſuch an urgent and imperious caſe of neceſſity, as left no room for accommodation, and made war unavoidable. The government of France has been accuſed of having violated the law of nations, and the ſtipulations of exiſting treaties, by an attempt to deprive the Republic of the United Provinces of the excluſive navigation of the Scheldt. No evidence, however, has been offered to convince us that this excluſive navigation was, either in itſelf or in the eſtimation of thoſe who were alone intereſted in preſerving it, of ſuch importance as to juſtify a determination in our government to break with France on that account. If, in fact, the States General had ſhewn a diſpoſition to defend their right by force of arms, it might have been an inſtance of the trueſt friendſhip to have ſuggeſted to them, for their ſerious conſideration, how far the aſſertion of this unprofitable claim might, in the preſent circumſtances of Europe, tend to bring into hazard the moſt eſſential intereſts of the Republic. But when, on the contrary, it has been acknowledged, that no requiſition on this ſubject was made to his Majeſty on the part of the States-General, we are at a loſs to comprehend on what grounds of right or propriety we take the lead in aſſerting a claim, in which we are not principals, and in which the principal party has not, as far as we know, thought it prudent or neceſſary to call for our interpoſition.

We muſt further remark, that the point in diſpute ſeemed to us to have been relieved from a material part of its difficulty by the declaration of the miniſter of foreign affairs in France, that the French nation gave up all pretenſions to determine the queſtion of the future navigation of the Scheldt. Whether the terms of this declaration were perfectly ſatisfactory or not, they at leaſt left the queſtion open to pacific negotiation, in which the intrinſic value of the object to any of the parties concerned in it, might have been coolly and impartially weighed againſt the conſequences to which all of them might be expoſed by attempting to maintain it by force of arms.

We have been called upon to reſiſt views of conqueſt and aggrandiſement entertained by the government of France; "at all times dangerous to the general intereſts of Europe, but," aſſerted to be "peculiarly ſo, when connected with the propagation of principles, which lead to the violation of the moſt ſacred duties, and are utterly ſubverſive of the peace and order of all civil ſociety."

We admit, that it is the intereſt and duty of every member of the commonwealth of Europe to ſupport the eſtabliſh-

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ed ſyſtem and diſtribution of power among the independent ſovereignties which actually ſubſiſt, and to prevent the aggrandiſement of any ſtate, eſpecially the moſt powerful, at the expence of any other; and, for the honour of his Majeſty's councils, we do moſt earneſtly wiſh that his miniſters had manifeſted a juſt ſenſe of the importance of the principle to which they now appeal, in the courſe of late events, which ſeemed to us to menace its entire deſtruction.

When Poland was about to recover from the long calamities of anarchy, combined with oppreſſion; after ſhe had eſtabliſhed an hereditary and limited monarchy like our own, and was peaceably employed in ſettling her internal government, his Majeſty's miniſters, with apparent indifference and unconcern, have ſeen her become the victim of the moſt unprovoked and unprincipled invaſion; her territory over-run, her free conſtitution ſubverted, her national independence annihilated, and the general principles of the ſecurity of nations wounded through her ſide. With all theſe evils was France ſoon after threatened, and with the ſame appearance either of ſupine indifference, or of ſecret approbation, his Majeſty's miniſters beheld the armies of other powers (in evident concert with the oppreſſor of Poland) advancing to the invaſion and ſubjugation of France, and the march of thoſe armies diſtinguiſhed from the ordinary hoſtilities of civilized nations, by manifeſtoes, which, if their principles and menaces had been carried into practice, muſt have inevitably produced the "return of that ferocity and barbariſm in war, which a beneficent religion, and enlightened manners, and true military honour, have for a long time baniſhed from the Chriſtian world."

No effort appears to have been made to check the progreſs of theſe invading armies. His Majeſty's miniſters, under a pretended reſpect for the rights and independence of other ſovereigns, thought fit at that time to refuſe even the interpoſition of his Majeſty's councils and good offices to ſave ſo great and important a portion of Europe from falling under the dominion of a foreign power. But no ſooner, by an ever-memorable reverſe of fortune, had France repulſed her invaders, and carried her arms into their territory, than his Majeſty's miniſters, laying aſide that collusive indifference which had marked their conduct during the invaſion of France, began to expreſs alarms for the general ſecurity of Europe, which, as it appears to us, they ought to have ſeriouſly felt, and might have expreſſed, with greater juſtice, on the previous ſucceſſes of her powerful adverſaries.

We will not diſſemble our opinion, that the decree of the National Convention of France, of the 19th of November 1792, was in a great meaſure liable to the objections urged againſt it; but we cannot admit that a war, upon the ſingle ground of ſuch a decree, unaccompanied by any overt acts, by which we or our allies might be directly attacked, would be juſtified as neceſſary and unavoidable. Certainly not—unleſs upon a regular demand made by his Majeſty's miniſters, of explanation and ſecurity in behalf of us and our allies, the French had refuſed to give his Majeſty ſuch explanation and ſecurity. No ſuch demand was made. Explanations, it is true, had been received and rejected. But it well deſerves to be remarked and remembered, that theſe explanations were voluntarily offered on the part of France, not previouſly demanded on ours, as undoubtedly they would have been, if it had ſuited the views of his Majeſty's miniſters to have acted frankly and honourably towards France, and not to have reſerved their complaints for a future period, when explanations, however reaſonable, might come too late, and hoſtilities might be unavoidable.

After a review of all theſe conſiderations, we think it neceſſary to repreſent to his Majeſty, that none of the points which were in diſpute between his miniſters and the government of France, appear to us to have been incapable of being adjuſted by negotiation, except that aggravation of French ambition, which has been ſtated to ariſe from the political opinions of the French nation. Theſe, indeed, we conceive formed neither any definable object of negotiation nor any intelligible reaſon for hoſtility. They were equally incapable of being adjuſted by treaty, or of being either refuted or confirmed by the events of war.

We need not ſtate to his Majeſty's wiſdom, that force can never cure deluſion; and we know his Majeſty's goodneſs too well to ſuppoſe, that he could ever entertain the idea of employing force to deſtroy opinions by the extirpation of thoſe who hold them.

The grounds upon which his Majeſty's miniſters

miniſters have adviſed him to refuſe the renewal of ſome avowed public intercourſe with the exiſting government of France, appeared to us neither juſtified by the reaſon of the thing itſelf, nor by the uſage of nations, nor by any expediency ariſing from the preſent ſtate of circumſtances. In all negotiations or diſcuſſions whatſoever, of which peace is the real object, the appearance of an amicable diſpoſition, and of a readineſs to offer and to accept of pacific explanations on both ſides, is as neceſſary and uſeful to enſure ſucceſs, as any arguments founded on ſtrict right. Nor can it be denied, that claims or arguments of any kind, urged in hoſtile or haughty language, however equitable or valid in themſelves, are more likely to provoke than to conciliate the oppoſite party. Deploring, as we have ever done, the melancholy event which has lately happened in France, it would yet have been ſome conſolation to us to have heard, that the powerful interpoſition of the Britiſh nation on this ſubject had at leaſt been offered, although it ſhould unfortunately have been rejected. But, inſtead of receiving ſuch conſolation from the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters, we have ſeen them with extreme aſtoniſhment employing, as an incentive to hoſtilities, an event which they had made no effort to avert my negotiation. This inaction they could only excuſe on the principle, that the internal conduct of nations (whatever may be our opinion of its morality) was no proper ground for interpoſition and remonſtrance from foreign ſtates—a principle from which it muſt ſtill more clearly follow, that ſuch internal conduct could never be an admiſſible, juſtifying reaſon for war.

We cannot refrain from obſerving, that ſuch frequent alluſions as have been made to an event confeſſedly no ground of rupture, ſeemed to us to have ariſen from a ſiniſter intention to derive, from the humanity of Engliſhmen, popularity for meaſures, which their deliberate judgement would have reprobated, and to influence the moſt virtuous ſenſibilities of his Majeſty's people into a blind and furious zeal for a war of vengeance.

His Majeſty's faithful Commons therefore, though always determined to ſupport his Majeſty with vigour and cordiality in the exertions neceſſary for the defence of his kingdoms, yet feel that they are equally bound, by their duty to his Majeſty and to their fellow-ſubjects, to declare, in the moſt ſolemn manner, their diſapprobation of the conduct of his Majeſty's miniſters throughout the whole of theſe tranſactions; a conduct which, in their opinion, could lead to no other termination but that to which it ſeems to have been ſtudiouſly directed, of plunging their country into an unneceſſary war. The calamities of ſuch a war muſt be aggravated, in the eſtimation of every rational mind, by reflecting on the peculiar advantages of that fortunate ſituation which we have ſo unwiſely abandoned, and which not only exempted us from ſharing in the diſtreſſes and afflictions of the other nations of Europe, but converted them into ſources of benefit, improvement, and proſperity to this country.

We therefore humbly implore his Majeſty's paternal goodneſs to liſten no longer to the councils which have forced us into this unhappy war, but to embrace the earlieſt occaſion which his wiſdom may diſcern of reſtoring to his people the bleſſings of peace."

Major Maitland ſeconded the motion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, as the motion juſt made was merely a recapitulation of all the arguments advanced by gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe againſt the whole of the meaſures purſued by adminiſtration relative to the affairs of France, the Houſe, he was confident, would not feel it neceſſary that any arguments more ſhould be advanced againſt the motion. He would therefore content himſelf by obſerving, that thoſe who had oppoſed the arguments recapitulated in the motion, were bound to give it their direct negative—it would have his moſt decidedly.

Mr Drake junior, ſaid, the beſt ſpeech he could make to this elaborate, voluminous, and circuitous attempt of the party to protect againſt the virtuous deciſion of the great majority of that Houſe was, No! — To all the late propoſitions of thoſe gentlemen commonly termed the party, the public cried, No!—To the meaſures purſued by his Majeſty's miniſters the public cheerfully and chorally ſang Aye!

The queſtion was put on the addreſs, and negatived without a diviſion.

Mr R. Smith, member for Nottingham, read a petition, ſigned by 2500 perſons of the town of Nottingham, praying for a reform in parliament. The petition, among other things, ſtated the repreſenta-

tion of the people to have paſſed away, and that in its ſtead there exiſted the groſſeſt abuſe of the rights of the people.—That their rights were uſurped in a manner which induced members of that Houſe not to look to the people, but to others for approbation. It propoſed, as a reform, the empowering all adults to vote for repreſentatives, and to ſhorten the duration of parliaments.—Mr Smith moved for leave to bring up the petition.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was of opinion, that the Houſe could not, conſiſtent with its own dignity, and regarding the rights of the people whom they repreſented, permit a petition like that juſt read, to be laid on their table. He would not ſay any thing upon the propoſitions of opening the election of repreſentatives to all adults, and the ſhortening of the duration of parliament; nor would he enter upon the queſtion of a reform, that not being before the Houſe; all he contended for was, that petitions preſented to that Houſe ſhould be couched in reſpectful terms. He was therefore againſt the bringing up of the petition.

Mr Fox did not approve of the wording of the petition, but was ſtill in favour of the motion for having the petition brought up, conceiving that the Houſe ſhould be leſs nice on a complaint of the grievances in the repreſentation than upon any other complaint.

Mr Burke was decidedly againſt the petition, which went to ſtate that we had no conſtitution—that the members of that Houſe were uſurpers, and yet to thoſe uſurpers had the petitioners applied for the formation of a conſtitution. He condemned the petition as audacious and ſeditious, and charged the revolution ſociety with being the propagators of ſuch ſedition. The friends to ſuch petitions as the preſent, were enemies to the great and invaluable right of petitioning; for ſuch petitions muſt either deſtroy the right, or, by their admiſſion, open the door to a torrent of libels, which the Houſe would merit the moment they ſhould receive them deliberately.

Mr Grey and Mr Sheridan ſpoke in defence of the revolution ſociety.—They acknowledged their diſlike to the wording of the petition, but contended that it ought to be permitted to be brought up. The motion was negatived.

Mr M. Taylor, Feb. 22. roſe to make his promiſed motion relative to the erecting of barracks in the internal parts of the kingdom. He reprobated the meaſure, as contrary to the conſtitution, as dangerous to our liberties, as calculated for the purpoſe of over-awing and curbing the people, and to deſtroy principles, deemed dangerous, by the uſe of the ſword, inſtead of exerciſing againſt thoſe principles the wholeſome operation of the laws. In ſupport of theſe opinions, he quoted from the authority of Harley, Pulteney, Pelham, Lord Kames, and Judge Blackſtone; and after reprobating adminiſtration for their exciſe-laws—for their engaging the couutry in a war of deſpots—for their countenance to canting prieſts, who held up the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance—and for their attempts to ſtifle all inquiry into the erection of the barracks, they never having yet laid before the Houſe an eſtimate, he concluded by moving, in the words of Judge Blackſtone, "That the uniform and perſevering oppoſition made by our anceſtors to the erection of barracks, was founded on a juſt underſtanding of the principles of our excellent conſtitution, and founded upon high and legal authorities, whoſe recorded opinions were, that ſoldiers ſhould be quartered with the people—and that no camps, no barracks, no iſland fortifications, could be permitted with ſafety to the liberties of the people.

The Secretary at War, Mr Minchin, Lord Beauchamp, and Lord Mulgrave, argued the neceſſity of the times for the meaſure, which, inſtead of being dangerous to the liberties of the country, operated to the maintenance of the public tranquillity—ſeveral parts of the kingdom have ſolicited the erection of barracks, inſtead of the eſtabliſhed mode of quartering the troops at inns and public houſes, which, in times of war, was ruinous to innholders and publicans, and in all times injurious to the morals and health of the men ſo quartered.

Major Maitland, Mr Courteney, and Mr Fox, ſupported the motion, cenſuring the meaſures for erecting barracks as new, unheard of, and unconſtitutional.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, and the motion was loſt.

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

MEMORIAL *presented by* LORD AUCKLAND, *ambaſſador extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary of* GREAT BRITAIN, *to their* HIGH MIGHTINESSES *the* STATES GENERAL *of the* UNITED PROVINCES.

High and Mighty Lords,

THE underſigned ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty haſtens, in conſequence of the expreſs orders of the King, to lay before your High Mightineſſes copies of all the papers which have been exchanged from the 27th of December laſt, to the 20th of this month, betwixt Lord Grenville, his Britannic Majeſty's Secretary of ſtate, and M. Chauvelin.

The King, High and Mighty Lords, is in the firm perſuaſion, that the ſentiments and principles expreſſed in the name of Great Britain, are perfectly congenial with thoſe which animate your republic, and that your High Mightineſſes are diſpoſed to concur fully in thoſe meaſures, which the actual criſis of affairs requires, and which are a neceſſary conſequence of theſe ſentiments and theſe principles.

The circumſtances which have involved us in this criſis are too recent, and the conduct of the King too well known, to render it neceſſary for the underſigned to enter at this time into any long details.

It is not yet above four years ſince ſome unfortunate individuals, aſſuming to themſelves the name of *Philoſophers*, had the preſumption to think themſelves capable of eſtabliſhing a new ſyſtem of civil ſociety. And in order to realize this *reverie* of their vanity, they thought it became them to overturn and deſtroy all the received notions of ſubordination, manners, and religion, which have been hitherto the ſafety, the happineſs, and the conſolation of mankind. Their plans of deſtruction have ſucceeded but too well; but the effects of this new ſyſtem, which they have wiſhed to introduce, have only ſerved to demonſtrate the futility and wickedneſs of its contrivers—The events which have ſucceeded each other with ſo much rapidity, ſince its beginning, ſurpaſs in atrocity all that has yet appeared in hiſtory. Property, liberty, ſecurity, life itſelf, have been ſacrificed to miſguided paſſions, to the ſpirit of plunder, to hatred, and the moſt cruel and unnatural ambition. The annals of mankind do not preſent an epocha where, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, ſo many crimes have been committed, ſo many misfortunes have been occaſioned, ſo many tears have been ſhed; in ſhort, at this time, theſe horrors appear to have come to their full extent.

During all this period, the King, ſurrounded by his people, who enjoyed by divine providence an unexampled proſperity, could not view the misfortunes of others without feeling ſentiments of pity and indignation. But true to his principles, his Majeſty could not allow himſelf to intermeddle in the internal affairs of a foreign nation. He has never deviated from that ſyſtem of neutrality which he firſt adopted. This conduct, which the King has ſeen with pleaſure obſerved equally by your High Mightineſſes, the good faith of which all Europe has acknowledged, and which ought to be reſpected above all other titles, has not been able to put his Majeſty, his people, and this republic, out of the reach of the moſt criminal and dangerous deſigns.

For ſome months paſt, projects of ambition and aggrandizement, alarming to the tranquillity and ſafety of all Europe, have been publicly avowed; attempts have been made to ſpread, both in the internal parts of England and in this country, maxims ſubverſive of all ſocial order; and the abettors of ſuch deſigns have not been aſhamed to give to theſe deteſtable attempts, the name of the revolutionary power. Solemn and ancient treaties, guaranteed by the King, have been broke; and the rights and territory of the republic have been violated.—His Majeſty now thinks, in his wiſdom, that he ought to make preparations proportioned to the nature of circumſtances. The King has conſulted his parliament; and the meaſures which his Majeſty had thought proper to take have been confirmed by the unanimous ſentiments of a people, who abhor anarchy and irreligion, who love the King, and reſpect their conſtitution.

Theſe are, High and Mighty Lords, the motives of a conduct, the wiſdom and equity of which have aſſured hitherto to the King your concert and your cooperation.—His Majeſty, in all that he has done, has conſtantly ſtudied to maintain the rights and ſecurity of the United Provinces.

The declaration which the underſigned had the honour to tranſmit to your High Mightineſſes on the 13th of November laſt, and the arrival of a ſmall ſquadron, deſtined to protect the rights of the re-

public, while he was aſſembling his maritime forces, are ſufficient proofs of this. Your High Mightineſſes have acknowledged theſe intentions of the King, in ſo far as his Majeſty has already acted. They will be found no leſs honourable in the meaſures which are preparing. In conſequence, his Majeſty is perſuaded, that he ſhall continue to experience, on the part of your High Mightineſſes, a perfect conformity of principles and conduct. This conformity will alone give to the united efforts of the two countries their neceſſary energy for their common defence, in oppoſing a barrier to the evils with which Europe is threatened, and preſerve from every attempt, the ſafety, the tranquillity, and the independence of a ſtate, the happineſs of which your High Mightineſſes aſſure, by the wiſdom and firmneſs of its government.

Given at the Hague, Jan. 25. 1793.

AUCKLAND.

[Lord Auckland afterwards addreſſed a ſecond memorial, dated Jan. 28. to the United States, merely to inform them of the manner in which M. Chauvelin was diſmiſſed from this country.]

MANIFESTO *of the* States General *of the* United Provinces, *in Anſwer to the following* PROCLAMATION *of* Gen. Dumourier.

"*Batavian People*,

THE Stadtholder, who, upon republican principles, ought only to be your Captain-General, and who ſhould exerciſe only for your happineſs the powers with which you have inveſted him, in ſubordination to the will and deciſions of your Republic, holds you in oppreſſion and ſlavery.

You perfectly underſtand your rights. You attempted in 1787 to reconquer them from the ambitious Houſe of Orange. You had then recourſe to the French nation—but as at that time France groaned under the deſpotiſm of a perfidious court, you became the ſport of the intriguing miſcreants who then governed France.

A handful of Pruſſians ſufficed to replace the yoke upon you, commanded by that ſame Duke of Brunſwick whom I have ſince chaſed from Champagne. Some of you have been victims to the vengeance of your deſpot—Some have fought for refuge in France—Since then every hope of liberty was no more, until the period of a revolution, the moſt aſtoniſhing which the hiſtory of the univerſe ever preſented, ſuſtained by ſucceſs the moſt glorious, has given to you, in the French, allies powerful, generous, and free, who will ſecond your efforts for liberty, or who will periſh with you.

Batavians, it is not againſt you that the French Republic has declared war—The friend of all nations, ſhe has for enemies only deſpots. The Engliſh, ſo proud of their liberty, ſuffer themſelves to be miſled by gold, and the falſehoods of a ——, of whom they will ſoon be weary. The more enemies we have, the more ſhall we propagate our principles—Perſuaſion and victory ſhall ſuſtain the impreſcriptible rights of man, and nations will be tired of exhauſting their blood and their treaſures for a ſmall number of individuals, who keep diſcord alive, as the means of deceiving and enſlaving the people.

We enter Holland, therefore, as friends to the Dutch, but as irreconcileable enemies to the Houſe of Orange. Its yoke appears to you too inſupportable for your choice to be doubtful. See you not that this demi-deſpot, who tyrannizes over you, ſacrifices to his perſonal intereſt the moſt ſolid intereſts of the Republic? Has he not, in 1782, engaged you to break, with diſhonourable perfidy, the treaty of alliance concluded with us? Since then, has he not conſtantly favoured the Engliſh commerce at the expence of yours? Does he not, at this moment, ſurrender to the perpetual rival, the only nation you can dread, the moſt important eſtabliſhments, the Cape of Good Hope, the Iſle of Ceylon, nay, the whole of your commerce with the Indies? Think you that the Engliſh, inſatiable of power and wealth, will ever reſtore you thoſe important places which ſecure to them the empire of India? No; you will never regain your rank among the firſt maritime nations until you ſhall have become free.

Send back, therefore, into Germany that ambitious Houſe, which, for a century, has ſacrificed you to its ambition. Send back that ſiſter of Frederick William, who retains at her command his ferocious Pruſſians, when you ſhall attempt to throw off your chains. The calling in of thoſe Pruſſians is every time an inſult to the ſtandard of your brave troops. The Houſe of Orange fears, and with reaſon, that the ſpirit of liberty ſhall ſubdue it. A republican army

will

will not long be ſubſervient to tyrants. Soon the troops of Holland, ſoon the conquerors on the Dogger-Bank, will join to the French their armies and their fleets.

The firſt who unite themſelves under the ſtandard of liberty ſhall receive, not only the certainty of thoſe places which they occupy in the ſervice of the Republic, but promotion, and at the expence of the ſlaves of the Houſe of Orange.

I enter among you, ſurrounded by the generous martyrs of the Revolution of 1787. Their perſeverance and their ſacrifices merit your confidence and mine. They form a committee, which will increaſe ſpeedily in number. This committee will be very uſeful in the firſt moments of your revolution; and its members, with no ambition but to be the deliverers of their country, will re-enter the different claſſes of ſocial order whenever your national convention ſhall aſſemble.

I enter your territories at the head of 60,000 Frenchmen, free and victorious. Sixty thouſand more are defending Brabant, ready to follow me if I meet with reſiſtance. We are by no means the aggreſſors. The Orange party has long waged againſt us a ſecret and perfidious war. It is at the Hague that all the attempts have been plotted againſt our liberty.—We ſhall ſeek at the Hague the authors of our woes.—Our wrath and our vengeance are only for them.

We will paſs through your rich provinces like friends and brothers.—You will ſee the difference of proceeding between freemen who offer you their hands, and of tyrants who inundate and devaſtate your country.

I promiſe the peaceful huſbandmen whoſe harveſts are ſacrificed to the terror of the tyrant, to indemnify them by the ſale of their poſſeſſions who have ordered the fruitleſs inundations. I promiſe alſo to deliver into their hands, and to their juſt vengeance, the perſons of thoſe wicked functionaries, magiſtrates, or military commanders, who ſhall have ordered thoſe inundations.

However, to avoid all the ruin they occaſion, I exhort all the inhabitants of the country, by the ſentiment of liberty they have within them, to oppoſe them; and I will cloſely follow up my proclamation, to ſupport the brave and puniſh the wicked.

Batavians! have confidence in a man whoſe name is known to you—who has never been wanting of what he promiſed, and who is leading freemen to battle—before whom have fled, and will fly, the Pruſſian ſatellites of your tyrant.

The Belgians call me their deliverer—I hope ſpeedily to be yours.

The General in Chief of the Army of the French Republic,

DUMOURIER."

THE tenor of this paper, printed at Antwerp in the Dutch and French languages, leads to a preſumption that it has been deſtined by General Dumourier to announce and precede the attack with which he has long threatened this Republic; to expoſe to the view of Europe, and, in particular, to that of the inhabitants of theſe provinces, the aim of this enterprize; and, if it were poſſible, to juſtify its motives.

A writing, however, ſo filled with the groſſeſt falſehoods and abſurdities, as well as the moſt atrocious calumnies, has never perhaps been publiſhed in a ſimilar conjuncture. On examining with attention the contents of this proclamation, every attentive reader will, like ourſelves, find it difficult to perſuade himſelf, that it can in reality be aſcribed to him whoſe name it carries; to a man who has the reputation of being enlightened and intelligent, and who makes a profeſſion of uprightneſs and morality. Thus do we feel no repugnance in abandoning the examination of the offenſive ſophiſms and facts alledged in it, to the good ſenſe of all the well-diſpoſed inhabitants of this country; and with this view we have not heſitated to contribute, ourſelves, to the publicity of this piece, by inſerting it in the preſent Manifeſto. We think it, however, a duty we owe to our honour, to the whole nation, to the preſent age, and to poſterity, not to leave without reply, at a time when theſe pacific ſtates are threatened by a moſt unjuſt invaſion, all the falſehoods advanced againſt us; and certainly, had we ſought an occaſion to diſcuſs the preſent ſubject, we could never have found one preſenting more advantages.

The author of the proclamation ſets out by repreſenting Monſeigneur the Prince, Hereditary Stadtholder, as a tyrant who holds the good people of theſe provinces in oppreſſion, and as one who poſſeſſes no other power than that of Captain General. It is impoſſible to diſplay a more profound ignorance

rance of our conſtitution, according to which the illuſtrious charge of Captain General, and that of the Hereditary Stadtholder, are two abſolutely diſtinct dignities. As to what regard the manner in which Monſeigneur the Prince, Hereditary Stadtholder, exerciſes thoſe functions which are confided to him under theſe two diſtinct relations, we appeal to the teſtimony of all our countrymen.—Who among them will honeſtly maintain, that the nature of the Stadtholderſhip gives to him who is inveſted with it, the power of oppreſſing and ſubjugating the citizens? Is there, beſides, any one inhabitant of theſe provinces, unleſs he is entirely blinded by a party ſpirit, who forbears to do juſtice to the amiable and benevolent diſpoſition of a Prince, whoſe perſonal character and adminiſtration have conſtantly been marked with the ſtamp of benevolence, moderation, and the moſt ſcrupulous exactneſs in the fulfilment of his duties?

The other heads of the charge levelled againſt him, are not leſs abſurd and ridiculous. How can Monſeigneur the Prince of Orange have broken in 1782 a treaty of alliance which was not concluded till 1785? Who has ever ſaid, or thought ſeriouſly, that he either has or could have wiſhed to favour the trade of the Engliſh nation at the expence of our own? Is not every mercantile influence abſolutely foreign to his powers? and does not commerce open a ſufficiently extenſive field to employ the induſtrious activity of two friendly and allied nations? Who among us, laſtly, has ever heard mention of the conceſſion to the Engliſh of the Cape of Good Hope, or of the Iſland of Ceylon? Who, therefore, does not ſee that all theſe reproaches are mere fictions? and how is it poſſible to alledge them in a paper deſtined to convey to the whole univerſe an account of the motives which have engaged a *ſoi diſante* Republic to declare a moſt unjuſt war againſt a free and independent State?

With equal falſehood does the paper now before us ſpeak of the Revolution of 1787, an event which foreigners, or, if you will, the enemies of our conſtitution, miſtakenly repreſent as an act of violence and oppreſſion. Every one knows, that the purport of all which was then done, was merely to re-eſtabliſh and conſolidate the ancient and legitimate conſtitution upon which this Republic was founded, has increaſed from ſmall beginnings, has ſo long been flouriſhing and happy, and which the efforts of a few ambitious men threaten with a total ſubverſion.

"It is not againſt the Batavian Nation," ſays the proclamation in continuation, "that France has declared war: A friend to all nations, ſhe has for her enemies Deſpots only."—Let not our fellow-citizens allow themſelves to be dazzled by theſe lying expreſſions; let them not loſe ſight of the ſignal abuſe, now become ſo common, of the words *Liberty*, *Slavery*, and *Oppreſſion*. Thoſe who at preſent govern France, and who think they have a right to diſpoſe, in ſo arbitrary a way, of the lot and well-being of nations, have but too clearly proved in what the friendſhip conſiſts which they profeſs to other nations, and what they mean by tyranny and deſpotiſm. They teſtify their friendſhip to theſe nations, by ſowing among them diviſion and diſcord, and by violently ſtripping them of the privileges eſſential to ſocial order, and ſanctioned by their antiquity—privileges, the remembrance of which they even ſeek to efface, by deſtroying the charters on which they are founded.—The gifts they offer under the fine titles of fraternity and liberty, are no other than the very unbridled licenſe, the ſelf-ſame irreligious ſpirit in which they glory ſo openly, and theſe accompanied by all the evils which reſult from them, and under which they themſelves groan; ſuch as anarchy, murder, pillage, miſery, and famine. They blacken with the names of deſpotiſm and ſlavery all thoſe civil and religious inſtitutions which have hitherto been reſpected by man, becauſe they are indiſpenſable to his happineſs, and to the exiſtence of civil ſociety. Men cannot live in ſociety without a government to ſuperintend their well-being, and the principles the French with arms in their hands now labour to ſpread abroad, are calculated to overturn all governments, and to ſubſtitute to ſafety, repoſe, and good order, anarchy, and all the evils which ſpring from it.

Among the numerous ſubjects of aſtoniſhment with which the proclamation furniſhes us, and the abſurdity of which we are more particularly called on to demonſtrate to our countrymen, we cannot ſilently paſs over what is ſaid on

on the ſubject of the few unknown and deſpicable men, who, under the title of the Batavian Committee, uſurp an imaginary power, and who are deſcribed to us as being charged with the Proviſional adminiſtration, until we alſo, we ourſelves, ſhall, after the example of wretched France, have formed our National Convention. Shall we then be obliged to renounce the mild authority which governs us, to ſubmit our property, every thing that is dear to us, our lives themſelves, to the caprice of a few unknown, contemptible, ignorant individuals, who will diſpoſe of us and ours at their pleaſure, until the adminiſtration ſhall paſs from their hands into thoſe of the *ſoi-diſante* Convention, blindly devoted to France, of a complexion with the one we now ſee in our neighbourhood, and whoſe authority will neceſſarily be attended with the ſame diſaſtrous conſequences to us, as thoſe which have taken place in France? How can it have been conceived, that ſuch ideas would be cheriſhed by a wiſe and ſenſible people, little inclined by its character to adopt theſe diſaſtrous inventions of our times, and accuſtomed to a juſt and moderate adminiſtration?

We alſo perſuade ourſelves, that it is not neceſſary to caution the good inhabitants of this country againſt paying any attention to the invitation and promiſes made to them, to engage them to range themſelves beneath the ſtandard of this pretended liberty; or to the inſignificant threats employed to intimidate them from practiſing the means of defence with which nature has ſupplied us. It is impoſſible there can be found among them, men ſo baſe and ſo degenerate as to form an union with the enemies of their country, and, conjointly with them, to ſpread among their fellow-citizens, deſolation, deſpair, and the long chain of irreparable evils, which are a neceſſary effect of a moſt cruel rapacity, and which ſo many countries, ſubdued by the French, now experience.

We rather expect that all citizens, laying aſide any party ſpirit which diſunites them, will unite their efforts to ours, and to thoſe of all the true friends of the country, to defend and preſerve, under the divine protection, the territory which has given them birth, and in which they have been bred—that they will ſnatch religion and true liberty, thoſe guarantees of our happineſs, from the unſupportable yoke of foreign and barbarous hordes. We expect every thing from their courage and bravery; and we are perſuaded that they will not ſuffer themſelves to be intimidated by the exaggerated ſtatement of the forces which are repreſented as advancing againſt them. We perſuade ourſelves, that they will neither forget the invincible valour with which our immortal anceſtors reſiſted ſucceſsfully theſe very Frenchmen at a time when the greateſt Powers in Europe did not, as at this day, combat with us, but, on the other hand, were leagued with our enemies;—nor the ſituation of our country, which, more eſpecially in this ſeaſon, oppoſes inſurmountable obſtacles to an hoſtile invaſion;—nor the diligence and energetic activity of the government, which will neglect nothing to ſecure the ſucceſs of our common efforts;—nor, laſtly, the efficacious ſuccours we expect in a little time from our faithful allies. If, after ſo many important conſiderations, they may ſtill need a motive to confirm them in their reſolution to ſacrifice every thing in the defence of their dear country, we will place before their view the example of our neighbours the inhabitants of the Auſtrian Netherlands, who have called on and welcomed as friends, the very General who dares to call himſelf their deliverer, and thoſe very Frenchmen he commands:—theſe Belgians now reap the bitterſt fruits of their heedleſs credulity.

Deign, thou ſupreme and all-puiſſant Being! who haſt ſo often extricated this Republic from the moſt imminent dangers, deign to preſerve it at this day from ſuch a deliverance, and from ſuch friends!

Thus done and reſolved in the Aſſembly of their High Mightineſſes the Lords States General of the United Provinces, Feb. 20. 1793.

(Paraph.)

(L. S.) W. F. H. VAN WASSENAER, vt.

By order of the ſame,

(Signed) W. FAGEL.

DECLARATION *of his Moſt Serene Highneſs the* PRINCE *of* ORANGE *and* NASSAU, *made to the Aſſembly of their* HIGH MIGHTINESSES *on occaſion of the preſent circumſtances.*

High and Mighty Lords,

THE very principal part of the public adminiſtration which has been confided

ſided to me, in my different capacities, as well political as military, by your High Mightineſſes, and the Lords Eſtates of the reſpective Provinces, forbids my preſerving a ſilence under the immediate circumſtances of the general cauſe of the country.

Your High Mightineſſes certainly did juſtice to my ſentiments and my conduct, when in your letter to the States of the Provinces, and in your declaration relative to the manifeſto of General Dumouriер, you defended this conduct and theſe ſentiments againſt the calumnies and falſehoods of my enemies. But I owe to your High Mightineſſes, to the States of the Provinces, to the Dutch nation, for which my anceſtors ſhed their blood —I owe to the faithful Allies of the States, who, at ſo critical a moment, have flown to our ſuccour to fight with us for the Republic—I owe to all Europe, whoſe attention is fixed on ſo injurious an attack—and I owe it not leſs to myſelf, to make known, not only my views, but likewiſe the foundations of my confidence.

The State is moſt unjuſtly attacked; the territory of the Generality is invaded; and the arms of the enemy have unexpectedly met with a ſucceſs which might extend to the cities having voices in the State, and the conſequences of which would be incalculable.

Such, High and Mighty Lords, are the dangers which either harafs us already, or which ſtill menace us. It is not my wiſh to diſſemble them; I do not even wiſh to flatter myſelf, that the loſſes we have already ſuſtained will be the laſt. It is not ſurpriſing that this Republic ſhould experience great checks at the commencement of a war; but in the midſt of theſe diſaſters, ſhe elevates herſelf, as if her loſſes awaken her activity, ſupport her courage, and multiply her ſtrength.

As little as the dangers of the State ſhould be diſſembled, ſo little ought her advantages and ſuccours to be miſunderſtood. The ſituation of the country, interſected by rivers, canals, and lakes, hold out advantages capable of diſputing the ground with the enemy, even were their ſucceſſes ſtill more conſiderable. The fidelity of the citizens, their love for their country, is equally efficacious in a Republican State. The troops of the Republic are full of courage, and burn with a zeal to try their ſtrength in the defence of their altars and fire-ſides. The ſeamen are animated by the very ſpirit that has never failed ſo honourably to diſtinguiſh the Dutch, on an element which is natural to them, and on which they have ſo often confounded the pride of their enemies. I ought, finally, to aſſure myſelf, that not only the Allies of the State, but alſo the formidable powers which, equally with the Republic, have but one intereſt and one common enemy, will unite their efforts to ours, to repel from the frontiers of this Republic violence and injuſtice. But, High and Mighty Lords, I found my confidence, more eſpecially in the ſovereign Arbiter of the world, who out of nothing has cauſed this country to attain its preſent ſtrength, and who has preſerved it by miracles, and ſupported the arm of my courageous predeceſſors. This GOD is eternal: His all-puiſſance, his ſagacity, are equally ſo; and he is ſtill deſirous of ſupporting thoſe who repoſe their truſt in him.

Upon theſe foundations it is that I declare, in the face of the whole univerſe, that, far from being diſcouraged, I will watch till my laſt moment in the defence of the State, and that, notwithſtanding a part of my poſſeſſions and domains is already occupied by the enemy, what continues to be mine, as well as my blood and my life, is ſtill for the ſervice of the State. With theſe ſentiments I have been educated; they are thoſe which have diſtinguiſhed my anceſtors; and theſe illuſtrious examples have been inculcated, by myſelf and the Princeſs my dear conſort, to our children:—they already pant to diſtinguiſh themſelves in ſo honourable a career.

Let the nation rouſe itſelf; let it form an union with me againſt an enemy deſirous of ſeizing on its liberty, its property, and its independence. I truſt to be unceaſingly found in the career of honour, and the love of my country: and ſince I neither ſeek nor know any other grandeur than that of the country, I ſhall eſteem myſelf happy, provided Heaven ſhall deign to direct and bleſs my efforts to that end.

Done at the Hague, Feb. 28. 1793.

(Signed)

PRINCE OF ORANGE.

NEW

NEW BOOKS.

An Eſſay on the true principles of Executive Power in great States. Tranſlated from the French of M. Necker. 8vo. 2 vols. 12s. *boards.* Robinſons.

MONSIEUR NECKER, in the introduction to this work, manifeſts much diſſatisfaction with the proceedings of the French republic, and expreſſes his high reſpect for the unfortunate Louis XVI. With regard to the former, he deſpairs of its ſucceſs, and deems thoſe the beſt friends of France who abandon themſelves to the moſt melancholy preſages. Of the late King he ſpeaks as a public benefactor, who had a claim on the gratitude of Frenchmen, for having, by one ſplendid act, given ſubſtance to their rights and their dignity. The work was written prior to the diſſolution of monarchy in France, and is chiefly intended to expoſe the defects of a conſtitution which no longer exiſts. Many of theſe diſcuſſions are therefore now no farther intereſting, than as they ſerve for a vehicle to convey the author's ideas on the nature of government, and on the intereſts of the French nation.

Though M. Necker profeſſes only to treat of the principles of the executive power in great ſtates, he extends his view through the whole ſyſtem of civil government, from a perſuaſion that all the different branches of politics are cloſely connected with the prudent conſtitution of this power. His fundamental poſition is, that the formation of the executive power conſtitutes the eſſential, and perhaps the ſole, difficulty of every ſyſtem of government. The errors of the National Aſſembly reſpecting the executive power, he regards as the ſource of all the evils and troubles of France. After pointing out other errors, which he conceives to have ſprung from this fountain, he ſtates in what manner the queſtion of executive power ought to have been treated by the National Aſſembly, and gives it as his opinion, that in ſo difficult a buſineſs, they ſhould have conſulted the model of the Engliſh conſtitution; and he proceeds to draw a parallel between the organization of the executive and legiſlative powers in England, and the elements of which theſe powers were conſtituted by the National Aſſembly of France. In comparing the legiſlative power of the two governments, M. Necker ſtrenuouſly maintains the ſuperior advantage of the plan which requires two houſes of legiſlation, over that which provides only one. We ſhall copy a part of what he has advanced, with great ſtrength of argument, (in our opinion,) on this head:

"It is not poſſible to ſubject the opinions of a legiſlative body to any regular mode of cenſure, becauſe, in that caſe, the idea, which it is ſo neceſſary to preſerve, of its ſuperiority, would no longer exiſt: by becoming, however, a legiſlative body, it does not ceaſe to be an aſſembly liable to all the errors, all the indiſcretions and weakneſſes which are the lot of humanity. The eſtabliſhing therefore this cenſure in the very boſom of the legiſlative body itſelf, by dividing it into two houſes, was a beautiful and truly ingenious idea. Each houſe is thus obliged to form to itſelf a model of wiſdom, and to have it continually in view, ſince this wiſdom is in ordinary circumſtances the moſt certain means of unity of opinion. It is different with a ſingle houſe, which muſt ſeek to diſtinguiſh itſelf by extreme ideas, ſuch ideas alone being formed to catch the crowded and capricious theatre whoſe ſuffrage and applauſe are the objects of its ambition. The rejection of the plan of two houſes when conſtructing the legiſlative body, and the formation of this body into a ſingle deliberating aſſembly, is nearly like giving to the empire of the paſſions the preference over the authority of wiſdom. No one is ignorant of the facility with which the aſſent of numerous auditors may be obtained, either by the ſubtilty of argument, or by the inſinuating power of eloquence, particularly when certain circumſtances are laid hold of by which to act upon the mind. It is wiſely ordained in the French conſtitution, that the projected laws ſhall be read three different times, at intervals of eight days; but permiſſion being at the ſame time given to depart from this rule in urgent caſes, this urgency, decreed every inſtant, is become a mere form, which may be employed whenever one pleaſes. In a word, as altercations and quarrels are more frequent at the table of your high gameſters than at any other, ſo when an aſſembly decides of itſelf the fate of the empire, hatreds, diviſions, and jealouſies muſt reign there with greater violence, than if that aſſembly had repreſented a portion only of the executive power.

Not one of theſe obſervations is applicable to the Engliſh conſtitution;

and its firmneſs, its conſiſtency, the calm it diffuſes, the judicious conformation and ſtrict obſervance of the laws, and the regular action of the executive power, all theſe happy circumſtances are in a great degree to be aſcribed to the diviſion of the legiſlative body into two houſes, whoſe agreement in opinion fixes the ſentiments of the reſt of the nation, attracts reſpect, and is followed by obedience."

The author goes on to plead for the neceſſity of requiring a conſiderable ſhare of landed property as the qualification of repreſentatives, in order to produce a ſufficient degree of intereſt in public order, and to provide ſome guard againſt the influence of corruption, and the intimidation of popular clamour. The ſhare in legiſlation which is poſſeſſed by the King of England, he thinks far preferable to the circumſcribed *veto* which was granted by the Conſtituent Aſſembly to the King of the French; he alſo prefers the unlimited confidence placed by the Britiſh nation in its legiſlative body, to the plan of an aſſembly of reviſion adopted in France; and the method of regulating the convocation and duration of parliament in England, to the plan provided in the French conſtitution for aſſembling, and continuing after interruption, the meetings of the legiſlative body. In the ſame light of compariſon with the civil inſtitution of England, various other particulars are diſtinctly examined; namely, the judiciary power; the high national court; the prerogative of mercy; the formation of miniſtry; the diſtribution of offices and favours; the forms obſerved toward the monarch; the rights of peace and war; interior adminiſtration; and military force. The whole of this compariſon is a ſtudied eulogy on the Engliſh conſtitution, and a laboured cenſure of that, which, at the time when this work was written, ſubſiſted in France; every thing that is defective in the former, and every thing that is judicious in the latter, being, as we ſuſpect, induſtriouſly kept out of ſight. Nay, ſo ardent is M. Necker's zeal for the Britiſh government, that he is incapable of diſcerning any defects in its adminiſtration. He apprehends no danger from miniſterial influence, and is ignorant that any ſuch apprehenſion exiſts among the people:

"I am aſked, if the union of all theſe circumſtances be not calculated to create too powerful an influence, and if that influence, in the hands of the principal agents of the royal authority, may not endanger the conſtitution? The objection I conceive to be futile, and the danger imaginary, ſince the people, though warmly attached to their government, feel no ſuch apprehenſion, and ſince, for the period of a century, the principles of liberty, civil as well as political, have been inviolately maintained."

Again, when he is aſked, whether, ſince the paſſing of the Bill of Rights, and the Act of 1701, the Engliſh have not had cauſe to repent their forbearance in granting ſo many prerogatives to the executive power, and whether that power has not employed corruption to narrow the national freedom? he anſwers, the attempt would have been vain; for that freedom is under the guardianſhip of both houſes of parliament, the peers and the repreſentatives of the people; and elſewhere he ſays, "The concurrence of the executive government with the legiſlative, conſiſts much leſs in the conſtitutional neceſſity, that the monarch ſhould execute the acts of his parliament, than in the previous intervention of miniſters in the deliberations in which theſe acts are founded."—Doctrine, this, which, annihilating the independence of the Houſe of Commons, and ſilencing the free voice of the people, would leave us in poſſeſſion of nothing but the name of Britiſh liberty.

M. Necker proceeds to declaim againſt the French government in ſo impaſſioned a ſtrain of eloquence, that we are every moment ready to imagine that we ſee Mr Burke on his legs, and hear him pronounce one of his philippics on the floor of St Stephen's chapel:

"What titles, (ſays he,) ſhall we invent to expreſs the ſupremacy of thoſe who can, with impunity, ſtir up the people againſt the opinions and perſons of public men; who can, with impunity, draw inſults upon the monarch, and all who are connected with him; who can, with impunity, cut down my woods, ravage my eſtate, ſet fire to my habitation; who can, with impunity, recommend a traveller to popular outrages, or can themſelves conſtrain a peaceable citizen, by menaces, to fly his paternal abode, and become an exile from his family? What titles alſo ſhall we invent to expreſs the ſupremacy of thoſe, who have

have engroſſed exclusively to themſelves the public ear, who by their daily publications occupy the whole of the few precious moments that huſbandmen and artiſans can devote to the improvement of their minds; who thus govern the people by lies, inſpire them with whatever paſſions and ſentiments their baſe purpoſes may require, and inſenſibly weaken in them every tie neceſſary to the maintenance of ſocial ſubordination? Ah! let us call them dukes, archdukes, princes, and viceroys; let us engage to treat them with the utmoſt deference, provided they will engage in return to leave our property and our lives ſecure, and to reſpect morality and religion, and we ſhall make a happy exchange, we ſhall ſign, at the preſent moment, the beſt of all poſſible contracts. For, I repeat it, theſe are the maſters which have been given us by a conſtitution that has placed the ſceptre in the hands of the demagogues of the multitude; this is the terrible ariſtocracy which that conſtitution has generated. And yet we talk of liberty, we boaſt of a ſyſtem of equality, a ſyſtem that ſhall place all men upon a level! It is true the ſuperiorities which heretofore exiſted are no longer to be ſeen; but thoſe which have ſucceeded them are a thouſand times more terrible. We have deſtroyed the parchments which conferred on the ancient chevaliers of France their honorary prerogatives; but we have given commiſſions of audacity and impunity to men ſtrangers to every generous ſentiment. We have taken out of the proſpect the weathercocks upon the chateaux of the nobleſſe; but we have introduced, on all ſides, the torches of incendiaries. We have deſtroyed the pigeonhouſes of lords of manors; but we have new peopled the plains with tyrants athirſt for blood. We have broken to pieces the proud ſepulchres that remained as a memorial over the aſhes of the dead; but we have ſurrounded with tremendous ſilence, and ſecured with tyrannous precautions, the abyſſes deſtined to immanacle the living.

Menace has been every where ſubſtituted for the mild law of reſpect, and ſanguinary vengeance for the efficacious interpoſition of a venerable authority. Government has been ſacrificed to the fear of deſpotiſm, and there has immediately ſprung up a multitude of tyrants, who, celebrating hypocritically the charms and bleſſings of equality, have extended their yoke over the property over the perſons, over the opinions, and over the conſciences of men. Meanwhile they are not deſcended, as one might be led to imagine, from the land which Cadmus ſowed with the teeth of ſerpents; but they owe their origin to thoſe fatal germs of anarchy which have corrupted the vegetation of the moral ſoil of France, and rendered it prolific in malevolent demons and ſavage ſpirits."

The ſecond volume of this work compares the late conſtitution of France with that of the United States of America, particularly with reſpect to the ſubject of executive power; and exhibits, in various points of view, its errors and defects. In treating of the conſequences of the French revolution, M. Necker makes the following remarks, (which, at leaſt, have the merit of ingenuity,) on the influence which it is likely to poſſeſs over language and taſte:

"Gentleneſs and ſuavity of manners, the inſeparable companions of indulgence and lenity, have other affinities not leſs remarkable; and compoſed of various ingredients, are more intimately connected than we are apt to imagine with forms of language. We owe to the moſt fine and delicate impreſſions a portion of our ſentiments and even of our ideas. Often while the mind is occupied in reaſoning, we are carried away captive by the imagination. Placed at the exterior of our ſpiritual nature, and having the firſt communication with our ſenſes, it takes us ſo at unawares, it exerciſes over us ſo rapid an authority, that ſcarcely have we time to defend ourſelves. Thus, when the language of a nation, when its habitual expreſſions become ſtern and auſtere, the character of the people will partake of the ſame ſavage nature; and as the lyre of Orpheus animated the rocks and rendered them ſenſible, the language of the times, by a contrary effect, hardens our hearts and petrifies our feelings. Any one would ſuppoſe whole centuries had elapſed between the poliſhed age of France, and the preſent period; and I find a conſiderable analogy in the faſhionable eloquence to the faſhionable politics. It has neither meaſure nor harmony; it ſets no bounds to its liberty; it pays no attention to decorum; it aims at energy in the wrong place; its enthuſiaſm is artificial; itsboldneſs the dictate of the head and not of the heart; it is agitated with-

out action; emphatical without dignity; didactic without perſpicuity; monotonous without unity; it is extravagant in all its parts, and lifeleſs and unmeaning as a whole.

I quit this compariſon to make another obſervation upon our new-fangled language, an obſervation which may be thought to belong only to grammarians, but which really indicates a modification of our moral character. Every day we coin new verbs, altogether barbarous, and ſubſtitute them in the ſtead of ſubſtantives. Thus we ſay, *influencer*, *utiliſer*, *exceptionner*, *préconiſer*, *fanatiſer*, *patriotiſer*, *pétitioner*, *vôter*, *harmonier*, *&c.* This remark may be thought refined; but it indicates that we no longer feel the neceſſity of a ſweet and meaſured diction; for it is not by verbs, whoſe ſenſe is always poſitive, but by the union of adjectives to ſubſtantives, that ideas acquire compariſon, gradation, and progreſs.

I ſhall be aſked how the new French conſtitution can not *influence* our language, but have upon it an *inſenſible influence*. I anſwer, that exaggerated ſentiments and a certain tone of ſpeaking have a very intimate connection; that this tone of ſpeaking is connected with the deſire of captivating popular favour; that this tone of ſpeaking is connected with the multiplication of our ephemeron ſcribblers and journaliſts; that this tone of ſpeaking is connected with the growth of oratorical vanity that infects all ſorts of men; in fine, that this tone of ſpeaking has a very intimate reference to the real ſituation of the people.

Taſte is no longer neceſſary, when deference of every ſort is baniſhed, when all diſtinctions are trampled upon, all ideas and principles confounded; when there is but one thought exiſting through a whole country, and when, by an abſurd enthuſiaſm, that thought is ſuppoſed to have univerſal application and all-ſufficiency.

Taſte is no longer neceſſary, when the people are become the ſole maſter, and when the groſſeſt incenſe does not fail to gratify this new-made god.

Taſte is no longer neceſſary, when the empire of opinion is under the guidance of impaſſioned writers and corrupt inſtructors, of thoſe new ſhepherds who deſire not to lead their flocks to the flowery vallies and the verdant meadows, but to precipitate them from torrents and precipices, imbuing them with the ſpirit of demons, and hurrying them along with incantations and enchantments.

In fine, taſte is no longer neceſſary, and every day muſt pervert it more, when every one is ſmitten with the deſire of writing and ſpeaking, and in the midſt of this univerſal rivalſhip each endeavours to ſurpaſs his neighbour in a rugged force of expreſſion, and a ſavage ſtrikingneſs of imagery."

In pointing out the conduct which our author thinks the National Aſſembly ought to have obſerved, he gives a ſet of practical maxims in the room of the theoretical principles which were made the baſis of the conſtitution. As theſe may ſerve in ſome meaſure to exhibit M. Necker's political principles, we ſhall copy them:

"It is in my opinion impracticable, in a great ſtate, to ſecure the liberty of the ſubject conſiſtently with the omiſſion of any of the following articles.

1. That the repreſentatives of the nation ſhall have the excluſive right of making laws, ſubject to the ſanction of the prince; comprehending under the term laws, all that relates to the ſelection and regulation of taxes.

2. That the repreſentatives of the nation ſhall have the excluſive right of fixing the amount of the public expenditure; there being evidently included in that right the amount of the military eſtabliſhment.

3. That all articles of receipt and expenditure ſhall be accounted for to certain commiſſioners appointed by the repreſentatives of the nation.

4. That the taxes ſhall be annually renewed by the repreſentative authority, excepting thoſe taxes which are given as ſecurity for the payment of the intereſt of the public debt.

5. That all arbitrary privilege, and power of diſpenſing with the laws be proſcribed; and that every citizen ſhall have a right to bring his actions civil or criminal againſt every public officer of whoſe conduct he thinks he has reaſon to complain.

6. That the military power ſhall not be brought into activity within the kingdom, but by the previous requiſition of the civil officers.

7. That the mutiny bill, or the law for authoriſing the diſcipline, and of conſequence that gives exiſtence to the army, ſhall be annually renewed.

8. That

8. That the preſs ſhall be free, as far as is compatible with the intereſts of morality and public tranquillity.

9. That the taxes ſhall be equally laid, and that no citizen ſhall labour under diſqualification to the exerciſe of any public office.

10. That the miniſters and public agents of government ſhall be reſponſible.

11. That the throne ſhall be hereditary; a condition indiſpenſable to prevent faction, and to preſerve political tranquillity.

12. That the executive power ſhall be given full and entire to the prince, together with every means neceſſary for its exerciſe, and for the ſecuring public order; a proviſion abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the legiſlative body from engroſſing to itſelf a deſpotiſm not leſs dangerous than deſpotiſm in any other hands.

To theſe proviſions it would be neceſſary to add the moſt inviolable reſpect for the rights of property, did not this reſpect conſtitute one of the elements of univerſal morality, under whatever form of government men may be united.

The twelve articles I have enumerated muſt appear to every enlightened mind as the fundamental baſis of the civil and political liberties of a nation. They ought therefore to have a diſtinct place aſſigned them in the conſtitutional charter, and not to be confounded with thoſe numerous regulations ſubject to continual diſcuſſion and alteration.

The work concludes with the following animated apoſtrophe to reaſon:

"O Reaſon, heaven-born reaſon, image of the Supreme Intelligence which created the world, never will I forſake thy altars; but, to continue faithful to thee, will diſdain alike the hatred of ſome, the ingratitude of others, and the injuſtice of all! O Reaſon, whoſe empire is ſo congenial and ſo pleaſing to ſouls of feeling and hearts of true elevation; Reaſon, celeſtial Reaſon, our guide and ſupport in the labyrinth of life, alas! whither wilt thou fly in this ſeaſon of diſcord and maddening fury? The oppreſſors will have nothing to ſay to thee, and thou art rejected by the oppreſſed. Come then, ſince the world abandons thee, to inhabit the retreat of the Sage; dwell there protected by his vigilance, and honoured by the expreſſive ſilence of his worſhip. One day thou wilt appear again attired in all thy ancient glory, while impoſition and deceit ſhall vaniſh into nothing. At that period perhaps I ſhall be no more; yet permit the ſhade of thy departed advocate to attend upon thy triumph, and in the mean time ſuffer my name, tarniſhed as it is with calumny, to preſerve its place humbly inſcribed at the foot of thy ſtatue!"

Though we cannot aſſent to all M. Necker's opinions, particularly his notion of the neceſſity of founding civil authority on the fleeting viſions of imagination, rather than on the immutable baſis of rational conviction, we think that his work is entitled to reſpectful attention on account of the extenſive political information which it contains; but eſpecially on account of the ſound judgement, as well as the ardent zeal, with which he always pleads the cauſe of morality and religion. M.

The Example of France a Warning to Britons. By A. Young, Eſq; F. R. S. 8vo. 3s. Richardſon.

"IN attempting to give expreſſions adequate to the horror every one muſt feel at the horrible events now paſſing in France," Mr Young is ſenſible he may be reproached with changing his politics, his principles, as it is expreſſed. "My principles certainly have not changed, becauſe, if there is one principle more predominant than another in my politics, it is the principle of change." This is the principle which actuates Dr Prieſtley, and our modern reformers; but Mr Young ſays, "I have been too long a farmer to be governed by any thing but events. I have a conſtitutional abhorrence of theory, of all truſt in abſtract reaſoning, and, conſequently, a reliance merely on experience, in other words, on events, the only principle worthy of an experimentation. Thus founded on ſure ground, it ſhall be my buſineſs, in the enſuing pages, to bring to the reader's notice ſome facts proper to explain: 1. the real ſtate of France; and, 2. the cauſes of her evils: and I ſhall then apply her example to the landed, money-ed, commercial, and labouring intereſts of theſe kingdoms; the facts which will beſt explain the preſent ſtate of France, concerning government, perſonal liberty, and ſecurity of property." Under the head of government, Mr Young ſhews, that the ſyſtem of anarchy prevails, the freedom of election is violated, the ſections bully the Convention, and the government, formed on the rights of man, has been

been overturned, and, inſtead of peace, has produced nothing but conſpiracies, and projects of murder and aſſaſſination. Contrary to the opinion of Dr Prieſtley, in his Letter to Mr Burn, p. 144, that the generality of governments have hitherto been little more than a combination of the few againſt the many, it now evidently appears, that the combination of the many againſt the few can alſo deluge a nation in blood, and drain the ſources of proſperity. As to perſonal ſecurity, there is no ſuch thing; and where there is no perſonal ſecurity, there can be no ſecurity of property.

"The old government of France, with all its faults, was certainly the beſt enjoyed by any conſiderable country in Europe, England alone excepted; but there were many faults in it which every claſs of the people wiſhed to remedy. This natural and laudable wiſh made democrats in every order, among the poſſeſſors of property as well as among thoſe who had none. At the commencement of the Revolution, France poſſeſſed a very flouriſhing commerce, the richeſt colonies in the world, the greateſt currency of ſolid money in Europe. Her agriculture was improving; and her people, though from too great population much too numerous for the higheſt degrees of national proſperity, yet were more at their eaſe than in many other countries of Europe. The government was regular and mild; and, what was of as much conſequence as all the reſt, her benignant Sovereign, with a patriotiſm unequalled, was really willing to improve, by any reaſonable means, the conſtitution of the kingdom. All theſe circumſtances, if compared with England, would not make the proper impreſſion. They are to be compared alone with what has ſince enſued, and her preſent ſtate may thus with truth be correctly deſcribed. Her government an anarchy, that values neither life nor property. Her agriculture faſt ſinking; her farmers the ſlaves of all; and her people ſtarving. Her manufactures annihilated; her commerce deſtroyed; and her colonies abſolutely ruined. Her gold and ſilver diſappeared; and her currency paper ſo depretiated, by its enormous amount of 3000 millions, beſides incredible forgeries, that it advances with rapid ſtrides to the entire ſtagnation of every ſpecies of induſtry and circulation. Her national revenues diminiſhed three-fourths; her cities, ſcenes of revolt, of maſſacre, of ſtarvation; and her provinces plundered by gangs of banditti: her future proſpects of peace and ſettlement depending on a conſtitution that is to be formed by a convention of rabble, and ſanctioned by the ſans culottes of the kennel. It is not a few inſulated crimes on ſome undeſerving men; it is a ſeries of horrid proſcription, ſpreading far and near, pervading every quarter of the kingdom; it is the annihilation of rank, of right, of property; it is the deſtruction of the poſſeſſions of more than half France; it is the legiſlation of wolves, that govern only in deſtruction: and all theſe maſſacres, and plunderings, and burnings, and horrors of every denomination, are ſo far from being neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of liberty, that they have moſt effectually deſtroyed it. In one word, France is at preſent abſolutely without government; anarchy reigns; the poniard and the pike of the mob give the law to all that once formed the higher claſſes, and to all that at preſent mock with the ſhow of legiſlation. The mob of Paris have been long in the poſſeſſion of unrivalled power—they will never freely reſinquiſh it. If the Convention preſumes to be free, it will be maſſacred; and, after a circle of new horrors, will ſink (ſhould foreign aid fail) into the deſpotiſm of triumvirs or dictators; the change will be from a Bourbon to a butcher. "All former Revolutions," ſays Paine (Rights of Man), "till the American, had been worked within the atmoſphere of a court, and never on the great floor of a nation." Unfortunately for this miſerable copy, ſhe worked on a floor broad enough; her baſis was the blood and property of France. The picture has no reſemblance in "the inſipid ſtate of hereditary government;" ſhe found in "ſcenes of horror, and perfection of iniquity, what man is up to." It is eaſy to ſee what they have loſt; as to their gains, they have aſſignats, cockades, and the muſic of *ça ira:* it may be truly ſaid, they have made a wiſe barter; they have given their gold for paper, their bread for a ribbon, and their blood for a ſong. Heaven preſerve us from the phrenzy of ſuch exchanges, and leave Revolutions for "the order of the day," for "the morning of reaſon riſing upon man in France!"

"Such are the conſequences of the French Revolution. Our next inquiry is, from what have theſe evils ariſen? They may be attributed to three prominent features

tures in the new ſyſtem of their *ſoi diſant* philoſophers: 1. Perſonal repreſentation: 2. The Rights of Man; 3. Equality."

Mr Young is of opinion, that the horrors that have paſſed in France are to be attributed, in a great meaſure, to the double repreſentation given to the *tiers etat* by M. Necker, directly contrary to every other reſpectable authority. Hence Mr Young takes occaſion to explode the dreams about perſonal repreſentation:

"There is a party in this kingdom who call loudly for a reform in the repreſentation of the people, and would have ſuch repreſentation give a right of election indiſcriminately to all mankind. I am myſelf in the number of thoſe who wiſh a reform, but not of ſuch a complexion, nor at a moment like this. I wiſh the middle claſſes of landed property better repreſented. I wiſh a new member for every county, elected by men who poſſeſs not leſs than 100 l. a-year in land, and not more than 1000 l.; and an equal number of members deducted from the moſt objectionable boroughs. But I would live at Conſtantinople rather than at Bradfield, if the wild and prepoſterous propoſition of the rights of man were to become effective in this kingdom. In other words, I have property, and I do not chuſe to live where the firſt beggar I meet may, with the ſabre in one hand and Rights of Man in the other, demand a ſhare of that which a good government tells me is my own. The fact is, the French conſtitution was founded abſolutely on perſonal repreſentation. By the letter of the law, certain perſons were excluded; but, by collateral parts of the ſame ſyſtem, the mob was armed, and the authors of the Revolution might not, perhaps, ſee the event, that electors made at the point of the bayonet, would be at the power of the bayonet. Examine not the letter of a viſionary code, but experiment, in the hiſtory of Paris, Marſeilles, &c. from the firſt moment of the troubles.

"Power in the hands of the people, by means of perſonal repreſentation, has ruined France. And the queſtion in England is, whether the farmers and land proprietors ſhall preſerve their property ſecure, by one and all conſidering the ſyſtem with the horror it merits, or ſhall, by doubt and heſitation, unite with the enemies of public peace, and hazard all that we poſſeſs at preſent?"

"The rights of man proved as viſionary and miſchievous as perſonal repreſentation. Take the French declaration of them, and there is hardly an article to be found to which many would not annex the queſtion, Is not this good? Can you deny this? But, concentrating the rays of right into one focus, and giving it in a declaration to the people, as the impreſcriptible right of man, the right of reſiſtance againſt oppreſſion became the power to oppreſs: the right to liberty crammed every priſon on ſuſpicion; the right to ſecurity fixed it at the point of the pike; the right to property was the ſignal of plunder; and the right to life became the power to cut throats. ARE THESE GOOD THINGS? If declarations of right, and governments founded on them, are really good, the reſult muſt be good alſo. But theſe are the good things, on practice, that flow, in a direct line, from the good things of French theory." "As to equality, the laſt ſupport of the French ſyſtem, it is too farcical and ridiculous to merit a ſerious obſervation; it is worthy only of Monſieur *Egalite*, who has waſted 30,000l. a-year in order to ſtand on record the firſt fool in Europe, and to give the better part of his countrymen occaſion to call that aſſumption great impudence; for he, that was below all, could be *equal* to none. A genius who ſacrificed the firſt property of any ſubject in Europe, and the name of Bourbon, to become the ſubject of debate in an aſſembly of tailors, ſtaymakers, barbers, and butchers, whether he ſhould not be baniſhed from that country which he had diſgraced by his crimes."—"The equality of 1792 was not the equality of 1789. The peaſantry paying no taxes, while they force their richer neighbours to pay the laſt ſhilling, is directly in point." The idea of *reſtoring the Conſtitution to its original purity* is confuted by changes in boroughs before the reign of Elizabeth. "To what period then, (aſks Mr Young), are we to look for that ideal perfection in this part of the Conſtitution which is not to be found in it at preſent?"—"There cannot be a more ſerious or a more awful ſubject for Parliament to enter upon than that of any alterations in the Conſtitution." "It is mere theory to ſuppoſe the Houſe of Commons purports to be the repreſentatives of the people, if by repreſentation is meant choice. Being once choſen by the few, they repreſent the many. They *purport* to be nothing more than what they *are*; and they are nothing more than this—men

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ſitting in a ſenate, and forming a third branch of the legiſlature, choſen by certain bodies, who, by the Conſtitution, have the privilege of electing them. They may be accurately deſcribed without uſing the word, or referring to the idea of Repreſentation. To call them the Repreſentatives of the People is a very inaccurate mode of expreſſion: they ought never to be called by any other name than the Houſe of Commons, to diſtinguiſh them from the Houſe of Lords. If they were *really* the Repreſentatives of the *people*, they muſt in theory be good or better, but they would be ſomething elſe than what *they are*; and, conſequently, different from that which has rendered us a free and happy nation." "Examine the Houſe of Commons in what light you will, and it will be found to poſſeſs in the power of the purſe ſo enormous an authority, that the other branches of the legiſlature are abſolutely at its mercy." "All demands that come under the theory or practice of perſonal repreſentation ſhould be reſiſted on principle, with firmneſs and a determined reſolution never to take that firſt ſtep to anarchy, confuſion, bloodſhed, and Jacobiniſm, which in one word ſums up all that is atrocious in political depravity. This ought to be conſidered as the only line of demarcation clearly defined, that ſeparates moderation of ſentiment from infanity of innovation." "The principle of our conſtitution is the repreſentation of property, imperfectly in theory but effectually in practice, by means of apparent defects, but which, perhaps, are diſguiſed merits. The great maſs of property, both landed, moneyed, and commercial, finds itſelf repreſented; and that the evils of ſuch repreſentation are trivial, will appear from the eaſe, happineſs, and ſecurity of all the lower claſſes: hence, poſſibly, virtual repreſentation takes place where the real ſeems moſt remote." "If any attempts at ſo perilous a ſeaſon to reform the conſtitution muſt be attended with ſuch unqueſtionable danger, reaſoning, as we may juſtly do, on the experiment of France, it will follow, that every intereſt, landed, moneyed, commercial, laborious, in this kingdom, is bound to reſiſt, with the utmoſt ſolicitude, ſuch miſchievous projects; the execution of which among our neighbours has deluged a great kingdom with univerſal ruin." "The fate of landlords in France is too well known.—Their national debt, amounting to 300,000,000l. Sterling, has been treated not altogether with the delicacy ſhewn to the public credit of England; for, every ſort of bankruptcy but a declared one has been committed; and the intereſt on funds and mortgages paid has been in aſſignats. If a man ſells ſtock he receives aſſignates, and though aſſignats are portable, what is their value on the exchange of London or Stadthouſe at Amſterdam? Of 90,000,000l. Sterling of former currency, eighteen twentieths have diſappeared." "The commercial intereſt of France has been totally laid in the duſt. Her colonies, by far the greateſt ſource of her trade, have been totally ruined. Equality and the rights of man have to the ſugar of America been as propitious as to the wheat of France. Aſſignats ſtruck with a palſy all the importation of the kingdom; and her exports, after the deſtruction of St Domingo, were a handful. The tumults and convulſions in the great towns drove the merchants and maſter manufacturers, with the remains of their wealth, into other countries, or ſunk them in ruin at home." "The perſonal intereſt of the laborious poor has been attacked in an inſtance the more remarkable, as it was the ground of accuſation againſt the old government, the enrolling countrymen for the militia; which method has been purſued to call forth *volunteers*." "The ſtate of the roads (under the old government the envy of Europe) is ſuch as would alone, without any other addition, very much impede the tranſportation of corn, and add to the ſcarcity in many ſituations. I am informed by a perſon who lately travelled acroſs the kingdom, that no repairs whatever have been done for 3 years paſt, and that he was informed on enquiry in ſeveral diſtricts, that the people abſolutely refuſed to contribute either money or labour to mend them. The miniſter of the interior, Jan. 6. complains to the Convention that they are in a ſhocking ſtate of ruin *(dans un état délabrement épouvantable)*. In a ſtate of anarchy, the object of roads may be thought ſmall, but it ſhews that, in a point where the people themſelves are ſo intimately concerned, government for every purpoſe of doing good is abſolutely at an end, and that it remains for evil only. They abolithed tithes and feudal payments; the next ſtep is, the people will not pay the land-tax, and then they will not repair the roads

that are for their own uſe. Such is their ſtate, and there are politicians in England who tell us that all will end well in France; as if it were poſſible to remedy ſuch evils by new experiments. The abſolute and unequivocal reſtoration of the old government, with terrors in its train, not the beneficence of Louis XVI. ſeems now to be the only remedy."

Mr Young pleads hard for a militia, rank and file, of property among us, and obſerves that, "next to the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a militia, the preſent ſpirit of aſſociation among the friends of the conſtitution is an old and genuine effort of feeling truly worthy Britons; an electric ſtroke of patriotiſm ſpread with vital energy through the empire.—Had ſuch aſſociations exiſted in France, or any thing tending to them, at the early ſtage of the revolution, all the horrors which flowed from it might have been prevented; but the higher orders of ſociety knew not their own danger. Here the caſe is directly contrary. We are inſtructed by their alacrity and experience, and of all effective means to be ready to meet a ſtorm, this of aſſociation is next to a militia of property, the moſt direct."

Mr Young ſays a great deal more in favour of the ſpirit thus happily called forth in defence of our excellent conſtitution; and paints, in the very terms of its enemies, their wiſhes to deſtroy by reforming it. He judges them by their own mouth; and poſterity will ſcarcely believe that the paſſages he quotes exiſted in the writings of the preſent day both in England and Ireland.

"In the former revolutions of the modern world, whether in Sweden, Switzerland, Portugal, Holland, or England, the people ſoon ſettled into a form of government nearly reſembling that which they enjoyed before the troubles; they never dreamed of making experiments on principle. Even in the caſe of America the fact holds true in almoſt every inſtance; for there is not now in the world a conſtitution ſo near the Britiſh as that of the United States. I think ſince the events in France, that it is inferior, for the plain reaſon of not providing ſo well againſt the danger now ſo much to be apprehended, popular power. The deſpotiſm of a monarch was every where the object of rational deteſtation; it is ſo no longer; a worſe monſter has ſhewn itſelf in the world, that carries a venom in its fangs more rabid than the canine. In all former revolutions thereof the people reaſoned in argument, and felt in fact, that whatever might be the event of a ſtruggle, it could ſcarcely place them in a worſe ſituation; and this with exception only to America. Experiment, therefore, juſtified the nations who felt their own oppreſſion in the attempts they made to effect a revolution. Reverſe the medal, and let us aſk how this great queſtion ſtands at preſent; the principles of equality and the rights of man are afloat, and an *experimentum crucis* tells us that a nation, though under a very bad government, may change for one a thouſand times worſe. This great and diſaſtrous event will give men, let their rank be what it may, the honeſt workman equally with the prince, a horror at the idea of revolution; will teach men,

———'Rather to bear the ills they have,
Than fly to others which they know not of;'

and, conſequently, has done more againſt the cauſe of that real and ſafe liberty which was gradually pervading the world, than any other event in the power of monarchy to effect. A reflection that ought to make us view a Jacobin with the ſame deteſtation as noxious animals, of hideous deformity." Take the worſt of the German military governments, and compare the ſituation of the people in any point whatever, and it may be aſſerted that they are in a happier and better ſituation than the French, under the anarchy given them by the rights of man. To anſwer, that this anarchy may ſubſide and produce a good government, is ſo completely beſide the queſtion, reaſoning on facts, that I am aſtoniſhed to hear it ſo often recurred to; the experiment of the new government in France was complete; it was finiſhed, decreed, and accepted. It is farcical to ſuppoſe that Louis XVI. had more power to ſap or deſtroy it than any other king; if it could not go on with him, it could not go on at all, and therefore was rotten at heart. It had made a thouſand proviſions againſt a diſarmed king, but had made none againſt an armed mob. This mob broke into the ſanctuary, and kicked the conſtitution out of doors. Maſſacres followed, till no man felt his head more ſafe upon his ſhoulders than the ſubjects of Achin or Algiers; and as to property, it was given to the winds. Where are the ſubjects of a German deſpot whoſe ſituation matches this? and as to the hope of ſeeing ſomething better,

the hope of the German is more likely to be realized than that of the Frenchman, who has nothing in profpect but new evils and new revolutions to cauſe them. A German therefore would be willing to reverence the thoughts of liberty, rather than purſue the idea of it through a revolution ſimilar to that of the French. Time, and a happy concurrence of events, may give them ſuch an opportunity as France has worſe than loſt. They have her example to inſtruct them."

"There appears to me to be a ſingular propriety in the aſſociations which are at preſent ſpreading through the kingdom, petitioning parliament to paſs an act to declare all clubs, aſſociations, ſocieties, meetings of men that aſſociate for the purpoſe of obtaining changes in the conſtitution, illegal; and that no meeting can legally correſpond, either in their own name or in the names of their ſecretary or other officers, with any foreign body or government, unleſs ſuch meeting is ſanctioned by charter. The friends of order and good government are now collected; the time is precious, and it ought not to be loſt: and, while we are threatened with the horrors of anarchy, it behoves us to have as much activity and energy in our defence as the violators of all human rights have exerted in their attack: for men to tell us, in ſuch a moment as this, and ſituated as we are, with the enemy of mankind triumphant on one ſide, and the torch of revolt lighting in Ireland on another ſide, that they are not Jacobins, but moderate men, wiſhing reform, is as impudent as it would be for a thief to ſay that he is not an aſſaſſin, becauſe he only held a candle while another cut my throat."—"That governments cannot be improved, and that legiſlation ſhould be the only ſcience to ſtand ſtill, by no means follows; experiment proſcribes only great changes; ſmall and gradual advances in times of ſerenity; ſuch advances as put nothing to hazard, muſt be good. It is eaſy to lay the finger on grievances in England which every honeſt and moderate man would wiſh removed; but it is not, when much is demanded, that little ſhould be given, for the plain reaſon, that the little will not then ſatisfy. I ſhall not be ſuſpected of thinking tithes a light grievance; but they are a grievance that would be ill remedied by the loſs of the crop that pays them. The enormity of the taxes I pay is known to every man that reads the tracts I publiſh: heavy as they are, let them remain rather than be changed for a *contribution foncière*: the little left me is my own, which might not be the caſe under the pure diſpenſation of Jacobin equality. Evils certainly exiſt in our ſyſtem; and they are ſuch as will, I truſt, be remedied gradually, by the legiſlature acting from its own impulſe, and not from the influence of clubs and reforming ſocieties. It was an old obſervation, that a republic could ſubſiſt on the trappings of a monarchy. The French have ſet the ſeal of experience here as in every other caſe, and have ſhewn, that citizen Robeſpierre and citizen Roland can outdo Emperor Joſeph and King George in extravagance. The moſt enormous expences that ever any nation was deluged with, are the preſent in France; a ſingle month's deficiency is 176 millions of livres, or 7,700,000 l. Sterling. This is ſpending at the rate of 90 millions a-year. Paine ſays, 'It is cruel to think of a million a-year to a king;' but it is not a breakfaſt to an aſſembly of citizens. There is a great deal in the civil liſt of England that does not concern trappings. The payments for the ſupport of theſe trappings do not probably amount to 6d. a head upon the population of Great Britain. For which 6d. every man has the ſupport of a chief conſtable, that keeps all the other conſtables in order. Inſtead of 6d. a-head paid for tranquillity, the French now pay 5 s. a-head for keeping a gang of cut-throats, and an aſſembly of mad dogs. A ſplendid imperial court might be ſupported out of ſomething worſe than the trappings of the French republic. If France ſhould ever again poſſeſs the precious moment of improving her government, without convulſions, which opportunity ſhe had, and loſt; or if any other great country, having an indigent poor, ſhould meet ſuch an opportunity, experiment ſpeaks to them but one language. Take the Britiſh conſtitution, not becauſe it is theoretically the beſt, but becauſe it is practically good; but take ſpecial care not to miſtake that conſtitution, and give the poiſon of perſonal repreſentation; for, in ſuch an error, your importation of Britiſh liberty would become the eſtabliſhment of French anarchy."

"Perhaps experience will juſtify us in aſſerting that that government is beſt which is beſt calculated to ſtand ſtill and do

do nothing, becauſe the thing wanted in government is not activity but repoſe; and to do nothing is, nineteen times in twenty, better than readily to do any thing. The vetos of different orders or houſes, therefore, muſt be good, as they are ſo many impediments to action. No government is ſo reſtleſsly active as a pure democracy voting in a ſingle aſſembly. The mob are ſatisfied no longer than a torrent of events keeps them in breathleſs expectation. We ſee, in the caſe of France, that ſuch buſtle is the energy of miſchief, the motion of deſpotiſm. Their late ſucceſſes, ſo unlooked for and ſurpriſing, made them ſpeak commonly in the ſtreets of Paris of conquering Europe. Should farther ſucceſs attend their arms, they will infallibly attempt it. The leaders, who owe their importance to the preſent hurricane of events, would ſink too low, in a calm, for ſuch men to allow the ſtorm to ſubſide."

"The abuſes and plunder in the ſale of the poſſeſſions of the emigrants may be eaſily conceived from the complaint that Sillery makes in the Convention. The furniture of the chateau of Nangus, belonging to the Baron de Breteuil, was worth at leaſt 1,500,000 livres, and has produced ſcarcely any thing. Six tapeſtries of the Gobelines, which coſt 30,000 livres in money, were ſold for 2800 livres in aſſignats. A clock, that coſt 24,000 livres in money, ſold for 800 in paper. (Moniteur, Dec. 31, 1792.) Such is the virtuous adminiſtration of the res publica among republicans."—"The miniſter Roland, who, in his impudent letter to the King, ſaid, that, as the voice of truth is not heard in courts, revolutions became neceſſary, now crouching under the uplifted pike, finds, in the diſpenſation of Jacobin juſtice, that the voice of truth is heard as little in conventions as in courts, and curſes the folly that called for revolutions."

"They dethroned the King, and murdered him, by a majority of five voices, though their law required three-fourths, at leaſt, for declaring guilt, or for pronouncing death, and the majority obtained by the menaces of the aſſaſſins paid by Egalite—the conſummation of political infamy! The murder of the beſt Prince that ever ſat on the throne of France, the only monarch that country ever knew that was a real friend to liberty, or that ever ſincerely wiſhed to make his people happy. A great and awful leſſon to all the princes of the world! not a leſſon teaching mildneſs, attention to complaints, an ear to the friends of innovation, a protection of arts, and literature, and philoſophy, not an inſtruction to enlighten, not a call to teach the ignorant, not a wiſh to ſoften power into perſuaſion, or to change the ſtern dictates of authority for the mild voice of Humanity and feeling; —No! this great abomination demands other ſentiments, and ought to generate, for the real felicity of the human race, a tighter rein in the jaws of that monſter, the worſt and moſt hideous caricature of human depravity, the metaphyſical, philoſophical, atheiſtical, Jacobin republican, abhorred for ever, for holding out to all the ſovereigns of the earth, that the only prince who ever voluntarily placed bounds to his own power died for it on the ſcaffold, and raiſed his people while he deſtroyed himſelf. He gave ear to thoſe who told him of abuſes; he wiſhed to eaſe his people; he ſought popularity; he allowed the liberty of the preſs, and would not reſtrain even its licentiouſneſs. He cheriſhed the arts, to produce a David; and nouriſhed, in the boſom of protected Science, a Condorcet! He would not ſhed the blood of traitors, conſpirators, and rebels. He liſtened to thoſe who petitioned for a reform. We alſo have thoſe who demand a reform; and when the legiſlature of this kingdom, unwarned by this great example, ſhall liſten to the doctrines that have drenched France with blood, we alſo may ſee ſpectacles too horrid now to think of, did not the late tragedy tell us no iniquity is too black for republican reformation. This damned event, deep written in the characters of hell, has thrown a ſtupor over mankind; when the princes and legiſlators of the world recover from it, the obſervation of Machiavel will not, probably, be forgotten: *Perche con pochiſſimi eſſempi ſarai più pietoſo che quelli liquali per troppa pietà laſciono ſeguire i diſordini onde naſcono occiſioni o rapine*—It is not Robeſpiere and Egalite that have murdered Louis; it was Neckar, with his double tiers: It is to perſonal repreſentation, which preceded this horrible crime, and which will be followed by ſo many others, alone to be attributed." *Gent. Mag.*

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"In tracing the general origin of naval sickness, it will be necessary to observe, that the vapour in a ship's well is often so deleterious, as to occasion an immediate suspension of the vital functions; nor is it difficult to conceive their progressive debility in a more remote influence of the contagious emission. This is more especially the case in ships that have their bottoms very tight. Hence it occurs, that new ships are generally the sickliest, while those which are leaky are commonly

monly found to be more healthy: a diſtinction that further evinces the miſtaken idea reſpecting the diet, which, being the ſame in both, ſhould produce the ſame effects.

On the reſumption of armament, ſhips are commiſſioned that have been long in a tranquil ſtate; and in which, during that period, the wells, that are no otherwiſe purified, are only pumped when the water aſcends to a certain height. This in moſt ſhips being ſaid to be only once in the courſe of ſeveral months, it is eaſy to imagine how putrid muſt be the contents, of which a part always remains undiſcharged. Agitated by the ſhip's motion when under ſail, the moſt deleterious particles continue to evaporate, and to poiſon the decks, where a neceſſity of cloſing the ports increaſes the evil. To this may be added the injudicious cuſtom of pumping the wells in the *morning* watch, when the ſtomach and brain are leaſt defended againſt the vapour then moſt obnoxious.

Under theſe circumſtances many of the crew are ſoon debilitated, from a morbid affection of the ſpirits, on which all peſtilential effluvia ſo immediately operate, and the powers of the moving ſolids eſſentially depend; whence the varied phenomena ſo much hackneyed in profeſſional detail. In particular habits, excrementitious humours erode the cellular texture, and nature finds a vent for the imbibed poiſon; in others, a malignant fever is earlier prevalent. The former being leſs ſuſceptible of febrile affection, evinces the propriety of bliſtering the latter. This is further indicated in variolous diſorders; where nature endeavours to tranſude the morbific matter through the exterior membranes, but which in great debility ſhe is unable to effectuate. Hence the fatality which in particular ſhips, where the miaſma is moſt infectious, occaſions ſuch a ſucceſſion of hands, that in a ſhort time they ſcarcely retain any ſhare of their primitive complements."

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The ſtrength of his underſtanding and the originality of his genius appeared at an early age; his play-things were not the play things of children, but the tools men work with; and he appeared to have greater entertainment in ſeeing the men in the neighbourhood work, and aſking them queſtions, than in any thing elſe. One day he was ſeen (to the diſtreſs of his family) on the top of his father's barn, fixing up ſomething like a windmill; another time, he attended ſome men fixing a pump at a neighbouring village, and obſerving them cut off a piece of bored pipe, he was ſo lucky as to procure it, and he actually made with it a working pump that raiſed water. Theſe anecdotes refer to circumſtances that happened while he was in petticoats, and moſt likely before he attained his ſixth year.

About his fourteenth and fifteenth year, he had made for himſelf an engine to turn roſe-work, and made ſeveral preſents to his friends of boxes in ivory or wood, turned by him in that way.

In the year 1742, I ſpent a month at his father's houſe, and being intended myſelf for a mechanical employment, and a few years younger than he was, I could not but view his works with aſtoniſhment: he forged his iron and ſteel, and melted his metal: he had tools of every ſort, for working in wood, ivory, and metals. He had made a lathe, by which he had cut a perpetual ſcrew in braſs, a thing little known at that day, and which I believe was the invention of Mr Henry Hindley, of York, with whom I ſerved my apprenticeſhip. Mr Hindley was a man of the moſt communicative diſpoſition, a great lover of mechanics, and of the moſt fertile genius; Mr Smeaton ſoon became acquainted with him, and they ſpent many a night at Mr Hindley's houſe till day-light, converſing on thoſe ſubjects.

Thus had Mr Smeaton, by the ſtrength of his genius, and indefatigable induſtry, acquired, at the age of eighteen, an extenſive ſet of tools, and the art of working in moſt of the mechanical trades, without the aſſiſtance of any maſter, and which he continued to do a part of every day when at the place where his tools were; and few could work better.

Mr Smeaton's father was an attorney, and deſirous of bringing him up to the ſame profeſſion. Mr Smeaton therefore came up to London in 1742, and attended the courts in Weſtminſter Hall; but finding (as his common expreſſion was) that the law did not ſuit the bent of his genius, he wrote a ſtrong memorial to his father on that ſubject, whoſe good ſenſe from that moment left Mr Smeaton to purſue the bent of his genius in his own way.

Early

Early in 1750, I came up to Mr Smeaton's lodgings in Great Turnſtile; he was then about commencing mathematical inſtrument maker, and ſoon became acquainted with moſt of the ingenious men of that time.

In 1751, he began a courſe of experiments to try a machine of his invention to meaſure a ſhip's way at ſea, and alſo made two voyages in company with Dr Knight to try it, and a compaſs of his own invention and making, and which was made magnetical by Dr Knight's artificial magnets; the laſt of theſe was in the Fortune ſloop of war, commanded at that time by Capt. Alexander Campbell.

In 1753, he was elected member of the Royal Society; the number of papers publiſhed in their tranſactions will ſhew the univerſality of his genius and knowledge. In 1759 he was honoured by an unanimous vote with their gold medal, for his paper entitled "An experimental enquiry concerning the natural powers of water and wind to turn mills, and other machines depending on a circular motion."

This paper, he ſays, was the reſult of experiments made on working models in the year 1752 and 1753, but not communicated to the ſociety till 1759, before which time he had an opportunity of putting the effect of theſe experiments into real practice, in a variety of caſes, and for various purpoſes, ſo as to aſſure the ſociety he had found them to anſwer.

Here we ſee Mr Smeaton in his 27th and 28th year make models and experiments therewith, by which the powers of wind and water are found to be able to do more by at leaſt one third, than it was known they could do before: this improvement, without any other, ſhews the value of his life to this country. To enable mills, and all other circular motions depending on water and wind, to do at leaſt one third more buſineſs than they did before, is to this country (greatly depending on its manufactures) a benefit beyond any calculation I can make. It muſt be immenſely great.

But here I find, by purſuing the above, I have omitted an anecdote, that ſhews his great thirſt after knowledge: in the year 1754, he made a voyage to Holland, and by walking on foot or travelling in the *treckſchuyts*, he got acquainted with moſt of the works of art there, and in the Low Countries.

In December 1755, the Edyſtone Lighthouſe was burnt down. Mr Weſton, the chief proprietor, and the others, being deſirous of rebuilding it in the moſt ſubſtantial manner, enquired of the Earl of Macclesfield (then Preſident of the Royal Society), whom he thought the moſt proper to rebuild it; his Lordſhip recommended Mr Smeaton.

Mr Smeaton undertook the work, and completed it in the ſummer of 1759. Of this Mr Smeaton gives an ample deſcription in the volume he publiſhed in 1791: that edition has been ſome time ſold, and a ſecond is now in the preſs, under the reviſal of his much-eſteemed friend Mr Aubert, F. R. S. and Governor of the London Aſſurance corporation. Of this work I ſhall only ſay, it appears to me, in a great meaſure, a hiſtory of four years of his life, wherein the originality of his genius is fully diſplayed, as alſo his great alacrity, induſtry, and perſeverance. [vol. 53. p. 175.]

Though Mr Smeaton completed the building of the Edyſtone Lighthouſe in 1759, (a work that does him ſo much credit), yet it appears he did not ſoon get into full buſineſs as a civil engineer; for in 1764, while in Yorkſhire, he offered himſelf a candidate for one of the receivers of the Derwentwater eſtate; and on the 31ſt of December in that year, he was appointed at a full board of Greenwich Hoſpital, in a manner highly flattering to himſelf; when two other perſons ſtrongly recommended and powerfully ſupported, were candidates for the employment. In this appointment he was very happy, by the aſſiſtance and abilities of his partner Mr Walton, one of the preſent receivers, who taking upon himſelf the management and accounts, left Mr Smeaton leiſure and opportunity to exert his abilities on public works, as well as to make many improvements in the mills, and in the eſtates of Greenwich Hoſpital. By the year 1775, he had ſo much buſineſs as a civil engineer, that he wiſhed to reſign this appointment, and would have done it then, had not his friends, the late Mr Stuart the Hoſpital ſurveyor, and Mr Ibbetſon their Secretary, prevailed upon him to continue in the office about two years longer.

[*To be continued.*]

A FRAGMENT.

Suppoſed to be written near the Temple on the night before the Murder of LOUIS XVI.

By Mrs ROBINSON.

NOW Midnight ſpreads her ſable veſt
With ſtarry rays light tiſſued o'er;
Now from the Deſert's thiſtled breaſt
The chilling dews begin to ſoar;
The owl ſhrieks from the tott'ring tow'r,
Dread watch bird of the witching hour!
Spectres from their charnel cells
Cleave the air with hideous yells!
Not a glow-worm ventures forth,
To gild his little ſpeck of earth!
In wild deſpair Creation ſeems to wait,
While Horror ſtalks abroad to deal the ſhafts of Fate!

To yonder damp and dreary cave,
From black Oblivion's ſilent wave,
Borne on Deſolation's wings,
Death his poiſon'd chalice brings!
Wide beneath the turbid ſky
Red Rebellion's banners fly,
Sweeping to her iron den
The agonizing hearts of men:
There in many a ghaſtly throng,
Blood-ſtain'd myriads glide along,
While each above his creſt a falchion rears,
Imbu'd with tepid gore, or drench'd in ſcalding tears!

Beneath yon tow'r (whoſe grated cell
Entombs the faireſt child of earth,
Auguſt in miſery as in birth),
The troops of Pandemonium dwell!
Night and day the fiends conſpire
To glut their deſolating ire!
Ire! that feeds on human woe;
That ſmiling deals the murd'rous blow!
And as the helpleſs victim dies,
Fills with ſhouts the threat'ning ſkies;
Nor trembles, leſt the vengeful light'ning's glare
Should blaſt their recreant arms, and ſcatter them to air!

Round the deep entrenchments ſtand
Bold Ambition's giant band;
Beneath, inſidious Malice creeps,
And keen Revenge—that never ſleeps!
While dark ſuſpicion hovers near,
Stung by the daſtard ſcorpion—Fear!
Reaſon, ſhrinking from her gaze,
Flies the ſcene in wild amaze!
While trembling pity dies to ſee
The barb'rous ſons of Anarchy
Drench their unnatural hands in regal blood,
While patriot Virtue ſinks beneath the whelming flood.

Hark! the petrifying ſhriek
Iſſues from yon turret bleak!
The lofty tower returns the ſound,
Echoing through its baſe profound!
The riſing moon with paly light
Faintly greets the aching ſight
With many a gliding centinel,
Whoſe ſhadow would his ſenſe appall;
Whoſe ſoul convuls'd with conſcious woe,
Pants for the morning's purple glow—
The purple glow that cheers his breaſt,
And gives his ſtartled mind a ſhort-liv'd hour of reſt.

But when ſhall morn's effulgent light
The hopleſs ſufferer's glance invite?
When ſhall the breath of roſy day
Around the infant victims play?
When will the vivifying orb
The tears of widow'd love abſorb?
See! ſee! the palpitating breaſt,
By all the weeping graces dreſt,
Now dumb with grief—now raving wild,
Bending o'er each with'ring child,
The only treaſure ſpar'd by ſavage ire,
The fading ſhadows of their murder'd ſire.

Oh! Fancy, ſpread thy pow'rful wing,
From Hell's polluted confines ſpring—
Quit, quit the cell where Madneſs lies!
With wounded breaſt and ſtarting eyes!
Ruthleſs fiends have done their worſt,
They triumph in the deed accurs'd!
See her veil Oblivion throws
O'er the laſt of human woes;
The royal ſtole, with many a crimſon ſtain,
Cloſes from every eye the ſcene of pain,
While from afar the war ſong* dins the ear,
And drowns the dying groan† which Angels weep to hear!

VERSES *ſung at a Public Charity.*

SWeet's the ſtrain, when meek-ey'd Peace
Gently ſweeps th' harmonious wires:
Horrid War's hoarſe clarions ceaſe—
Sweet's the ſtrain which Peace inſpires.

Sweet the ſoothing notes combine,
When Mercy ſpares the proſtrate foe:
Forgiveneſs calls for lays divine—
Sweet the ſtrains from Mercy flow.

Sweet Compaſſion's plaintive ſound
Lenient ſooths Affliction's pain;
Sympathetic feels the wound:
Sweetly ſwells the ſoftning ſtrain.

But ſweeteſt far the ſtrains improve,
When Charity to action ſprings;
Uniting Mercy, Peace, and Love;
The bliſs that takes—the bliſs that brings.

O Charity, celeſtial gueſt!
Deſcend and ſtamp thy mild decree;
Attune the voice—expand the breaſt,
For ſweet's the ſtrain inſpir'd by thee.

COSMO.

* *Ca Ira.*

† *The laſt inſult offered to the expiring Monarch.*

VERSES

VERSES *ſuppoſed to have been written in the Iſle of Cyprus, by the Rev.* J. Baniſter.

SWEET iſle! ennobled by the heaven-taught Muſe,
Whoſe fancy heighten'd Nature's richeſt views!
Whoſe fragrance breath'd in every winged gale,
While the fond ſhepherd told his amorous tale!
Here Venus and the Graces lov'd to rove,
And fill'd with choriſters each ſacred grove,
Whoſe tuneful notes, by Nature taught, inſpire
Enliv'ning hope, and kindle ſoft deſire.
Led by the Muſe, each hallow'd ſhade I view,
While Memory's pow'rs the bliſsful ſcenes renew.
Beneath this aged tree, perhaps the tongue
Of Homer utter'd his immortal ſong;
Charm'd by the clime, his voice enraptur'd rais'd,
And in ſublimeſt ſtrains his gods and heroes prais'd.
Here ſages, in abſtruſeſt ſcience ſkill'd,
Might once their viſionary ſyſtems build;
And legiſlators form the wond'rous plan,
To fix by laws that changeful creature man.
Here too Britannia's glorious ſtandards wav'd,
When this expiring country Richard fav'd,
Victorious led his warlike bands, and broke
Of Tyranny the hard and galling yoke.
With toils exhauſted, and of conteſts tir'd,
To this fair iſle the ſad remains retir'd
Of Syria's Chriſtian ſons, their vows here paid,
While Luſignan the feeble ſceptre ſway'd.
But, ah! too ſoon arrives that fatal hour,
Which ſubjects Cyprus to deſpotic power.
The frantic ſons of Mahomet invade
This fertile land, polluting every ſhade,
Where heaven-deſcended Science ſhed her ray,
And poets tun'd the joy-inſpiring lay;
Thoſe pure delights, which genius can impart,
The warm emotions of the feeling heart,
The patriotic glow, the generous heat,
With all that forms us truly good and great,
Expire, alas! by tyrant power oppreſt,
Which ſheds a languor o'er the ſervile breaſt,
And hides the ſad remembrance of their woes
In gloomy ſilence, and a dead repoſe.
How chang'd the ſcene! no more with vaſes crown'd,
In active dance, the joyful peaſants bound;
No more, reclin'd beneath the fragrant ſhade,
The generous lover courts his favourite maid,
And pours, in ſtrains of conſtancy and truth,
The dictates pure of uncorrupted youth.
To theſe ſucceed the dark ſequeſter'd cells,
Where pining beauty, Melancholy, dwells,
Condemn'd to deck ſome haughty tyrant's bed,
Who roves capricious, by his paſſions led,
Untaught to feel the lovers ſoft alarms,
Or taſte of virtue the commanding charms.
No more the vines their ſtreams nectarious yield,
No plenteous harveſts crown the ſmiling field;
Or where, in ſome ſequeſter'd ſpot, the ſwain
Labours to raiſe a ſmall ſupply of grain,
Ev'n this, his children's food, is ſnatch'd away,
The Vizir's, farmer's, or the ſoldier's prey.
Yet on this favour'd land the fount of light
Sheds his warm rays, in native ſplendour bright,
The ev'ning breeze the raviſh'd ſenſes greets,
And robs the orange of its balmy ſweets;
Nature, with hand profuſe, her treaſures pours,
And decks each hill with herbs, each vale with flow'rs.
But what avail theſe gifts, beſtow'd in vain,
Where power deſpotic holds its iron reign,
And, join'd with ſuperſtition's ſavage gloom,
Chills the fair flow'r of virtue in its bloom!
Sad Architecture ſits, and mourns the fall
Of the proud column, and the lofty wall,
While Citium's fate awakens all her woes,
No trace remaining where the city roſe,
Tho' her great* ſon the haughty ſpirit caught,
Which form'd the ſtoic's virtue-breathing thought,
Againſt the ills of life the ſoul to ſteel,
And taught the hardeſt leſſon, not to feel!
Where'er the Turk extends his cruel ſway,
Expiring reaſon ſheds a fainter ray,
And ſpends that force, by bounteous Heaven deſign'd
To bleſs, to raiſe, to dignify mankind,
In mean diſſimulation's ſubtile art,
In every trick, that malice can impart,
While Deſolation ſpreads her gloomy reign,
O'er the vaſt circuit of his drear domain.

To him who lamented ſeeing a beautiful WOMAN weep, *though ſhe declared that* Tears *relieved her Inquietude.* By Mrs Robinſon.

THE lucid tear from Flavia's eye
Down her ſoft cheek in pity flows;
As *ether* drops forſake the ſky,
To chear the bluſhing, drooping ROSE!

For, like the Sun, her eyes diffuſe
O'er her fair face ſo bright a ray!
That *tears* muſt fall, like heavenly dews,
Leſt the *twin roſes* fade away.

From the Chineſe.

GAY child of Spring, the garden's queen,
Yon peach-tree charms the roving ſight;
Its fragrant leaves how richly green!
Its bloſſoms, how divinely bright!

So ſoftly ſmiles the blooming bride,
By love and conſcious virtue led
O'er her new manſion to preſide,
And placid joys around her ſpread.

From the Chineſe

SEE where yon crag's imperious height
The ſunny highland crowns,
And, hideous as the brow of night,
Above the torrent frowns.

So ſcouts the chief whoſe will is law,
Regardleſs of our ſtate;
While millions gaze with painful awe,
With fear ally'd to hate.

* *Zeno, born at Citium.*

HISTORICAL AFFAIRS.

RUSSIA.

The following is a table of the exportations from Peterſburg to Scotland in 1792.

(1.)	(2.)	(3.)	(4.)	(5.)	(6.)	(7.)
24 Leith,	44561	45162	22200	56364	4142	95189
12 Grangemouth,	26065	6184	8	9031		122593
10 Dundee,	7188	9415	32258	129	778	11824
5 Glaſgow,	5629	12298	482	5905	1733	7302
5 Greenock,	8345	2856	1894	1167		25174
5 Montroſe,	500	3645	13642	341	164	484
3 Kirkwall,	1798	2033	2197	148		7740
1 Irvine,	315	761		662		
1 Ayr,	189	189	3372			
1 Arbroath,	756	2814		2062		571
1 Saltcoats,	772		250	2879		5118
1 Cromarty,		3136		1926	332	5682
1 Aberdeen,	1890	3039		3907		2346
1 Dunbar,	2835		253			1268
1 Borrowſtounneſs,	1890	178				
1 Port Seaton,	2961					
1 Dumfries,						
1 Fither-row,						

The 1ſt column contains the number of ſhips and names of the places to which they belong.—2d, poods iron.—3d, Clean hemp.—4th, 12 Hd flax.—5th, tallow.—6th, potaſhes.—and 7th, pieces of deals.

POLAND.

Dantzick, March 12. Conformably to an unanimous concluſion of all the reſpective orders, and by virtue of a declaration to that effect forwarded under the city ſeal, this place was yeſterday formally ſurrendered to the dominion of the King of Pruſſia. The magiſtrates afterwards demanded permiſſion to ſend deputies to his Pruſſian Majeſty, to determine in perſon the negotiation with that monarch. The Pruſſian Lieut. Gen. Raumer, requires on his ſide, as a ſecurity, the fortreſs of Weichſelmunde; and promiſes, on that condition, to withdraw the troops under his command.

The reſident of Poland, has, on his part, proteſted againſt the diſpoſition of the town to ſubmit to Pruſſia. Ruſſia acquieſces in it.

GERMANY.

Frankfort, March 9. Koningſtein ſurrendered to the Pruſſians yeſterday, and the late French garriſon which occupied that fortreſs, conſiſting of about 440 men, are arrived in this city.

Liege, March 13. Our government has returned. The Prince Biſhop has publiſhed a mandate, of which the following are the principal points:

1. Every ordonnance or eſtabliſhment given or made by the French, or rebellious ſubjects of Liege, ſince the 27th of November, is null and void; and all matters ſhall remain in the *ſtatus quo* of the ancient government.

2. All thoſe who were in official capacities on the 27th of November, ſhall reſume the ſame.

3. Thoſe among them who eſpouſed the cauſe of the rebels, are excluded the ordonnance above mentioned.

4. The courts of juſtice ſhall exerciſe their functions; but no counſellor or attornies who ſided with the rebels ſhall be employed, &c.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Pruſſian head quarters, at Gunterſblum, March 31. The corps under the Prince of Hohenloe paſſed the Rhine near Bingen the 29th of March, and advanced to Arnſheim. The flying corps under Col. Szekely purſued the enemy, who were retreating from Kreutznach to Worms, as far as Alzeg, without having been able to annoy them or overtake them. We went with the grand army from Bingen, in the direction of Arnſheim and Odernheim, to Alzheim. By this movement we cut off a part of Cuſtine's army, who retreated to Worms, in a way that reſembled a flight more than a retreat. Many priſoners were made by the way.

On the 30th we took the garriſon of Alzheim priſoners, conſiſting of a captain and 60 horſe, of whom not one eſcaped.

The French garriſons of Genſheim, Eich, and Hamm, conſiſting of two battalions of infantry and four cannon, united their forces, with a view to occupy the chauſee leading to Worms. Wolffrath's huſſars attacked them, took a cannon, and ſome priſoners. The enemy then retreated behind the Old Rhine, near Eich; towards the evening they ſhewed themſelves upon the chauſee near Rhine Turcheim. Lt Gen. Prince of Wurtemburg got before them with

with his regiment of cavalry, and Prince Louis, the King's ſon, charged them with three ſquadrons of the dragoons of Anſpach and Bareith with ſuch vigour, that, aſſiſted by the riding artillery under Capt. Meyler, he forced them to lay down their arms. There were three cannon taken, with ſix colours, the military cheſt, and 1200 priſoners; among whom were 40 officers.

The King appointed his ſon to the rank of Colonel, and expreſſed his marked approbation of the Prince of Wurtemburg. The Prince of Hohenloe, Col. Szekely, and Gen. Kohler purſued the enemy's rear-guard, which was poſted near Homberg, attacked, routed it, and took a great number of priſoners.

Towards night, when we were in quarters at Alzheim, the enemy appeared towards Mayence: They were the garriſons of Openheim and Nierſtein, which had been cut off. Prince Hohenloe went to meet them, with the battalion of Martini and his own regiment: They ſtood the fire of the artillery, but retreated when they found themſelves within muſket-ſhot.

On the 31ſt, the army united; one part facing towards Worms and the other towards Mayence. Our poſts extend to Nierſtein on the Mayence ſide, and to Oſthofen on the Worms ſide. The enemy has ſet fire to his magazines at Worms and Neuhauſſen. At Bingen, Kreutznach, Alzey, and Nierſtein we have taken four magazines. In the expedition we have made near 2000 priſoners. We have loſt hardly 100 killed and wounded.

April 1. Col. Szekely has juſt reported that he is marching towards Frankendal, to ſave if poſſible the magazine. The enemy has evacuated Worms. Our advanced parties were yeſterday at Oggerſtein.

Coblentz, April 1. A detachment from the French army, of about 2000 men, has been defeated by Prince Louis of Pruſſia, at a village behind his Pruſſian Majeſty's head-quarters. In this action above 900 men and 45 officers (of whom four were field officers) were taken priſoners: The Pruſſians alſo took five pieces of cannon and two pair of colours.

The Pruſſians have reached the banks of the Rhine, near Oppenheim, and cut off all communication between France and Mayence, which is hemmed in on every ſide. On the night of the 31ſt ult. his Pruſſian Majeſty eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Gunterſblum. His advanced poſts were on one hand, beyond Oppenheim, and on the other, at Worms. The Prince Royal, who commands the reſerve, is at Ingelheim, between which and the head-quarters a great body of the army is cantoned, with its front towards Mayence. The cavalry occupy chiefly the villages between Oppenheim and Altzey, fronting towards France. On their right is the corps of Auſtrians which Prince Hohenloe has left under the command of Gen. Kalkreuther. The bridge of pontoons is removed from Bacarach to Bingen.

HOLLAND.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Hague, March 25. Lieut. Weſtern, of his Majeſty's frigate the Syren, who was unfortunately killed on the 21ſt by a ſhot from the enemy's entrenched battery at the Noord poſt, was buried yeſterday in the church of Dodrecht, with military honours, and with every ſolemnity that could mark regard to the memory of a young officer, who had ſhewn on all occaſions an active and ſteady courage, and an ardent deſire to diſtinguiſh himſelf. His Royal Highneſs the Duke of York was preſent, with the officers and troops under his command. The funeral was alſo attended by the officers and crews of the Engliſh gun-boats.

Hague, April 2. On the 30th ultimo, in the evening, Prince Frederick of Orange obtained an advantage over the French, near Gertruydenberg, in an action which laſted near three hours. The loſs of the Dutch was a captain of grenadiers and ſix ſoldiers killed, and ſeveral wounded; 150 French were taken, with a Lieutenant Colonel, a Captain, and Lieutenant, ſeveral horſes, and a piece of cannon. Yeſterday the Hereditary Prince was with his corps at Haigie, about half a league from Breda. All hoſtilities were ſuſpended both there and at Gertruydenberg. The articles of capitulation, both for Breda and Gertruydenberg, are now ſuppoſed to be finally ſettled; in the mean time thoſe places continue to be blockaded by two corps of troops, under the Hereditary Prince of Orange, and his Brother Prince Frederick.

NETHERLANDS.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Hague, March 22. Intelligence has been received here of a victory obtained by the Prince de Saxe Cobourg over the French,

at Newlanden, near Tirlemont, which was preceded by a long and ſharp action.

On the 15th inſtant the advanced poſts of the Imperial army had been beat back from Tirlemont, which was retaken by the enemy; on the 16th M. Dumourier attempted to paſs the left wing of the Imperial army: on the 17th there was a change of poſition and a briſk cannonade: on the 18th, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, M Dumourier attacked the centre of the Imperial army, but was repulſed; he was likewiſe repulſed by the Imperial right wing; but about three o'clock in the afternoon M. Dumourier's right wing penetrated through the Imperial left wing, whoſe cavalry was prevented from manœuvring, the ground being interſected by ditches; the corps of reſerve, commanded by M. Clairfait, then decided the victory. The French retired in good order until ſix o'clock in the evening, when the Imperial light cavalry put them to the rout.

The number of killed and wounded is variouſly reported; it is ſaid that the French have loſt 33 pieces of cannon.

Hague, March 26. Accounts have been received here from the Prince of Saxe Cobourg, dated, Brickbeck, near Louvain, the 23d inſt. ſtating, that on the preceding day he had attacked the French, who were advantageouſly poſted between Tirlemont and Louvain; that the engagement was long and obſtinate, but that the French were beaten, and driven beyond Louvain, and were then poſted behind the Dyle, between Louvain and Bruſſels.

Hague, March 28. A letter was this morning received expreſs from Capt. Bentinck, dated yeſterday, at Bois le Duc, containing intelligence from Antwerp and Maeſtricht, that the advanced guard of the Auſtrian army entered Bruſſels on the 24th at noon; that the French army was poſted at Halle; that the country from Bois le Duc to Leir was clear of the enemy, and that the French force ſtill at Breda amounted to 4000, and that at Gertruydenberg to 2500 men.

Accounts are alſo received, that Dieſt was taken on the 20th, in an attack by Col. Mylius; that a conſiderable magazine was left by the French at Louvain; and that in the affair of the 22d the Auſtrians had 1000 men killed and wounded, and the French had 4000 killed.

Hague, March 30. Intelligence has been received here, that the citadel of Namur is taken by the Auſtrians, and that a conſiderable body of the Auſtrian troops has been detached from that place to join the Prince of Saxe Cobourg's army.

Oſtend, March 30. The French troops left this town for Dunkirk about three o'clock this afternoon, and at four, one of his Britannic Majeſty's cutters entered the port. Moſt of the prizes had ſailed before the cutter arrived: the others, which were to have ſailed this day, are ſtopped. Three Engliſh brigs are ſtill here, under the care of the Britiſh conſul.

Hague, April 2. Accounts are received here that the French have evacuated Antwerp and Mons, and that the army under M. Dumourier has retreated toward Valenciennes and Liſle.

Hague, April 4. Intelligence has been received from Gen. Clairfait *, dated at Tournay the 2d inſtant, adviſing, that Gen. Dumourier had that morning ſent to him as priſoners, M. Bournonville, M. Camus, and other commiſſioners, who had been authoriſed by the National Convention to apprehend him, and conduct him to their bar; and that, in a

* The following is the letter from Gen. Clairfait to Compte Starhemberg, Imperial miniſter at the Hague, dated, Tournay, Apr. 2.

"I loſe not a moment in communicating to your Excellency what M. Dumourier has juſt written to me, when he ſent to our camp eight or nine priſoners this morning, four of whom, with Gen. Bournonville, he ſays, were ſpecially commiſſioned by the National Convention to arreſt and conduct him a priſoner to their bar, and, on any reſiſtance on the part of Dumourier, to have him aſſaſſinated on the road. 'But,' adds the writer, 'I have been beforehand with them, in ſecuring theſe commiſſioners and their deputies as my priſoners.' Theſe he has ſent, under a ſtrong eſcort, to the Prince de Cobourg, after having put ſeals on all their papers, &c.

M. Dumourier tranſmitted me at the ſame time the incloſed liſt of the priſoners, and concludes by ſaying, That he was at that inſtant about to move with the truſty part of his army, in order to deſtroy all thoſe who may further oppoſe themſelves to the public good of France, and to give to that diſtracted kingdom permanent peace and tranquillity.

I have the honour to be, &c. CLAIRFAIT."

Liſt of the Priſoners.] Bournonville, a general in the army and war-miniſter; Memoire, a captain of Huſſars, his aid-du-camp; Villemure, ſecretary-commiſſioner of the war-office; Camus, Lamarque, Quinette, and Henri Bancal, members of the Convention; and Laucard, ſecretary of the commiſſion.

letter

letter which he at the ſame time wrote to Gen. Clairfait, he declared his intention to march the next morning with his army for Paris.

Bergen-op Zoom, April 4. Intelligence has been received, from the Prince of Saxe-Cobourg's head-quarters at Mons, that an armiſtice had been agreed upon between his Serene Highneſs and Gen. Dumourier, the latter having previouſly conſented to evacuate the Auſtrian Netherlands and Dutch Brabant: that Gen. Dumourier ſet out on the 3d inſt. on his march to Paris: that his Serene Highneſs had put his troops into very cloſe cantonments, keeping them in immediate readineſs to act.

Antwerp, April 8. Intelligence has been received here that Gen. Dumourier has quitted his army and retired to Mons, where he now is. He was accompanied by about 1000 horſe, and from 1 to 2000 infantry. After his departure the French army is ſaid to have broken to pieces: many went home, and others threw themſelves into the neighbouring garriſons of Liſle, Valenciennes, Conde, Maubeuge, &c. The ſtrong and important poſt of Maulde being left nearly open, a detachment of the Prince de Cobourg's army took poſſeſſion of it yeſterday, and formed the blockade of Conde. The armiſtice has been declared to be at an end.

From other Papers.

Official account by the Prince de Saxe Cobourg, of the action of March 18. *&c. near Tirlemont.*

Head-quarters, Tongres, March 19. Our van-guard, which marched on the 14th inſtant from Tongres, took up their cantonments beyond that town. The 15th they advanced to Orſmaal; their head-quarters were eſtabliſhed at St Trone, and the body of the army cantoned beyond St Trone. The light troops met the enemy on the road of Tirlemont, and drove them through that place, and beyond it.

On the 16th, the army left their cantonments, in order to form a camp beyond the river Gelhe, when the two armies met unexpectedly, on their march; for the enemy advanced from Louvain, with a deſign to ſurpriſe us in our cantonments. The enemy had juſt retaken their poſition in the town of Tirlemont, which they before had evacuated. A very ſevere cannonade began on both ſides, which continued the whole day, but with very little loſs on either ſide, when night put an end to the combat.

As our army could not reach the river of Grand Gelhe, and as we ſhould have been in want of water in our then poſition, the Field Marſhal Prince de Cobourg ordered a retreat in the evening, towards the road of Orſmaal, and the army occupied during the night the heights along the little river of Gelhe.

On the 17th, our army took a poſition, which was not defenſible. It was taken merely for the purpoſe of having an extent of ground, to enable us to attack the enemy on ſeveral quarters at once, in caſe they advanced. The little river of Gelhe was in our front, and our van was poſted along that river; our right wing extended to the road of St Tron, where the van-guard, under the command of the Archduke Charles, was encamped, and next to them the whole army, in two lines of battle; the firſt, under the command of Gen. Count Colloredo, and the ſecond, under the Prince of Wurtemburg. They had the villages of Orſmaal, Guthenhoſen, and Neervinden in front. The left wing was commanded by Gen. Count Clairfait; this wing was going to take poſt between Racour and Landen. The enemy remained in their poſition behind Tirlemont.

On the 18th, we ſaw the enemy at day-break marching towards us in different columns. They extended to the right and left of the road towards the heights on this ſide Tirlemont, in ſuch a manner that their right reached Guthenhoſen, and their left Willmorſum. About eight in the morning a column, preceded by a quantity of heavy artillery, advanced on the road of St Trone towards Orſmaal, from which place they diſlodged our Franc corps, and raiſed conſiderable batteries near the church.

The Archduke, on his ſide, immediately raiſed batteries with the artillery of the vanguard, and diſmounted ſeveral cannon of the enemy, which however they had the ſkill to ſupply inſtantly by others.

Although this was an obſtacle to their advancing, they however puſhed forward with ſo much activity that they profited by the advantage of the ground, and marched a column on the left towards the water, and another through Racour upon our flanks, and even upon our back, in order to turn us, leaving at the ſame time a ſufficient number of troops

troops in the centre, to make uſe of them in caſe of neceſſity.

The Field Marſhal planned his attacks againſt their different columns in this manner. The Prince of Wurtemburg was ordered to advance on his left towards the water, and Lieutenant Field-Marſhal Benjofski advanced on the road towards Orſmaal and Doumael. The Archduke Charles marched with two battalions of Starcy into the village of Orſmaal, Gen. Clairfait toward Racour, and Count Colloredo remained in the centre; theſe Generals beat the French on all ſides and repulſed them.

Gen. Dumourier, at the head of 30,000 men, conducted in perſon the principal attack near Racour, on which the fate of the action depended; but Gen. Clairfait marched his reſerve, which conſiſted ſcarcely of 8000 men, and repulſed Dumourier, who, although he had rallied his forces again, was overthrown a ſecond time.

During this attack near Racour, the enemy advanced a column upon our centre; but Count Colloredo repulſed them, and diſlodged them from the village of Neervinden, where he poſted himſelf, when night again terminated an engagement which laſted eleven hours, which alſo prevented our troops from purſuing the enemy any farther.

The extraordinary bravery with which our troops fought, coſt us dear; we loſt between 12 and 1500 men, amongſt whom we reckon Maj. Hugo Andonelli killed; Gen. Robeck and Col. Riche, wounded, and alſo ſeveral other officers. The enemy loſt at leaſt 4000 men killed and wounded. We have taken from them above 30 pieces of cannon.

March 19. We perceived this morning a ſtrong rear guard, employed in the poſition which the enemy had yeſterday, retreating with conſiderable diſorder, and Gen. Benjofski was detached with ſix battalions of infantry, and ten ſquadrons of cavalry, to purſue them. He ſucceeded by ſkilful manœuvres in diſlodging their rear, ſo that this General, with his detachment, are at preſent very near Tirlemont.

SAXE COBOURG.

The following are the particulars of the action:

"On the 20th, the Auſtrian General Benjofski drove the French from Tirlemont, and purſued them a league and a half beyond that town. The enemy covered their retreat with great order and coolneſs. At noon the Auſtrian army advanced upon the right, and paſſed Tirlemont. A party was encamped behind that town having in their rear, the large brook of Chethe, in the middle of the highway leading to Louvain; the corps de reſerve on the right, and behind that the village of Heugard.

Col. Baron de Mylius detached near Hempten, with two battalions of Michael Wallis, and ſome light troops, had received orders to diſlodge the enemy, which he ſucceſsfully atchieved, as appears by the following relation. At ſeven in the morning, M. de Mylius had made his firſt attack upon Diſt; he was at firſt repulſed, but upon the ſecond attack he entered the town on two ſides, took 50 priſoners, and carried off a cannon, and ſome waggons. The loſs of the Auſtrians was 50 killed and wounded, amongſt whom was one Captain. The enemy, having been cut off from the road leading to Louvain, were obliged to retreat towards Heventhal.

The army halted on the 21ſt of March to refreſh.

At break of day on the 22d, the Auſtrian army ſet out in three columns. The firſt advanced on the right of the cauſeway of Louvain, the ſecond on the left, and the third, which formed the van-guard, directed its march towards Tourine. When the ſecond column arrived at the heights where it was to encamp, it found them covered with numerous bodies of French cavalry, and the village of Blanden, which was intended to cover their left wing, occupied by a great number of town, their infantry.

The enemy were attacked on all ſides, but they made an obſtinate defence, procuring reinforcements, and ſupplying by freſh troops, whom they brought from Louvain, and their camp behind that town, thoſe who had been repulſed.

The battle was bloody, our ſecond column loſt above 400 men, and the enemy more than 2000. They were, however, overcome by the bravery of the Imperial troops, driven from all their poſts, and forced to evacuate the town of Louvain, and to retire behind Louvain towards Bruſſels.

The firſt column fell in near Belemberg with a body of the enemy who occupied the heights between that village and Louvain, in order to cover the latter. The enemy defended themſelves there

there for ſeven hours with the greateſt obſtinacy, but they were at length overcome, and driven beyond the river Dyle.

This battle was ſtill more bloody than that of the ſecond column, and we reckon our loſs, which is not yet properly aſcertained, at more than 500 men; the enemy loſt above 2000.—Our column took poſſeſſion of three cannons and one carriage.

The enemy abandoned at Louvain a conſiderable magazine. Terror and diſorder have again increaſed among their troops. They have quitted the advantageous poſt which they occupied on the Iron Mountain, and have encamped before Bruſſels, between the canal and the foreſt of Soignes.

SAXE COBOURG."

In the firſt battle the Auſtrians were only 40,000 againſt 80,000 men. Dumourier had planted a chevaux de friſe of a new conſtruction in a meadow through which Clairfait muſt neceſſarily paſs with his cavalry; which this General hearing of, he contrived to wind round the meadow, and to avoid the ſnare.

FRANCE.

In the National Convention, Feb. 11. upon a demand of a general amneſty for all thoſe who have been concerned in commotions and inſurrections previous to the death of Louis, excepting thoſe guilty of murder, aſſaſſination, and burning, the following decree was paſſed:

"The Convention extinguiſhes and aboliſhes all criminal proceſs commenced againſt any inſurgents who have been committed previous to the 21ſt of January laſt; and orders, that thoſe culprits, who are detained upon ſuſpicion, ſhall be liberated without delay: thoſe perſons who are guilty of aſſaſſination and treaſon, ſhall not be included in the preſent amneſty."

Dubois Crance delivered in his report relative to the organization of the army: he ſtated that the actual deficit of the infantry, voted for the ſervice of the current year, was 34,122 men; that there were battalions in which there did not remain 100 men. If to this deficit ſhould be added the number of the cavalry, which is 20,000 men ſhort, and the light infantry and artillery, 100,000 troops of the line, and 20,000 volunteers, muſt be raiſed to ſupply the total deficiency.

He proved the impoſſibility of doing this by recruiting; and therefore propoſed that the volunteers and troops of the line ſhould be incorporated together, which he ſaid would amount to 591,816 effective men.

He afterwards, propoſed to fill up the corps of engineers, by taking perſons at preſent employed in ſurveying, on the bridges, and on the highways.

Feb. 12. The diſcuſſion reſpecting the organization of the army was reſumed.

Dubois preſented the firſt article of his plan, as follows: "From the date of the publication of the preſent decree, there ſhall be no further diſtinction between the corps of infantry, denominated Regiments of the Line, and the national volunteers; but all ſhall be ſubject to the ſame regimen."

After violent debates, in which 60 at leaſt ſpoke at a time, the decree was adopted.

Feb. 13. The Convention reſumed the diſcuſſion of the plan of the military committee, and, impreſſed with the danger of diſorganizing the army in the preſent moment, decreed,

"That the projected plan to incorporate the volunteers with the troops of the line ſhould take place, but not till circumſtances ſhould render it more expedient to effect than at preſent."

The Convention decreed, among other privileges, that every officer or ſoldier, at the end of the war, ſhould receive an annual penſion for life, proportioned to the reſpective periods in which he ſhall have remained in the ſervice of the Republic, according to his rank. For ten years ſervice, he ſhall receive one-fourth of his pay on the peace eſtabliſhment; from 10 to 20, one-third; from 20 to 30, the half; from 30 to 40, three-fourths; and above 40, the whole of his pay.

Vergniaud oppoſed the idea of ſoldiers electing their officers. The ſuperior officers, ſays he, in order to be elected, will wink at the faults of the ſoldiers: this project, by making an army of deliberation, will form an armed Republic in a Republic unarmed: he demanded that the candidates ſhould be propoſed by their brother officers, and elected by individuals of a ſuperior rank. Decreed.

Feb. 12. A multitude of people, who called themſelves a deputation from the forty-eight ſections of Paris, and who had demanded the day before to be admitted to the bar, were introduced.

Before

Before they made their demands, they declared that the people of Paris were in waiting, and demanded an immediate anſwer.

The ſpeaker then requeſted the limitation of the circulation of grain, to deſtroy foreſtalling and monopoly, and to reſtore plenty: he alſo required the eſtabliſhment of an uniform meaſure through the whole extent of the Republic, and the fixing of a rate for the price of grain. He urged theſe ſeveral demands by ſevere reflections againſt many members of the Convention, whom he did not name, but whom he called pretended philoſophers and patriots—men who covered themſelves with the maſk of juſtice and equity, to lead the Convention aſtray.

The preſident replied, that the Convention, while it deſpiſed threats, and braved reproaches, would profit by any uſeful ſuggeſtions; and invited the deputies to the honour of the ſitting.

M. Buzot deſired the petitioners to return to their ſections, to guard the people againſt intrigues: the city of Paris would otherwiſe, inſtead of being the cradle of liberty, be its tomb.

13. A courier from Belgia brought to the Convention the information, that the city of Mons had voted unanimouſly for its re-union to France, and had organized an armed force of two thouſand men.

14. The committee of Marine new-modelled the decree which orders the foreign merchantmen, found in the French ports, to be ſold for the benefit of the Republic. Theſe veſſels are to be ſold, but the money ariſing from their ſale is to remain, till a further regulation, in the hands of the receivers of the diſtricts.

It was decreed, that the commercial Tribunals ſhall undertake the functions of a court of Admiralty, to decide any diſputes which may ariſe with reſpect to prizes; the appeals to be to the ordinary tribunals of the adjacent port.

It was decreed, that the Marine Adminiſtration ſhall be conducted by a miniſter and ſix aſſiſtants; each of the latter to have a particular diviſion aſſigned him.

General Miranda ſtated to the Convention, that General Chamboran had made himſelf maſter of the Dutch fort Sterwenſverk, ſituated on the right bank of the Meuſe. The latter General was marching againſt fort Venloo.

The Convention accepted the wiſh of the former Principality of Monaco, and of the Bailiwick of Chambourg, to be united to France.

On an accuſation from a battalion in the army on the Var againſt Gen. Anſelme, the Convention decreed that he ſhould be put under arreſt.

The department of the north offered the Convention a ſhip of 50 or 60 guns, to be called the Department of the North. No officer or ſoldier ſhall embark on board this ſhip before he takes an oath rather to periſh than ſurrender her to the enemy.

The Preſident announced, Feb. 15. that the committee of conſtitution had terminated their plan of the new conſtitution, and that he was ready to ſubmit it to the Aſſembly.

Condorcet aſcended the tribune, and in a ſpeech of five hours read a very long expoſition of the principles by which the committee had been guided in their important labours. He obſerved, that whatever be the reſult of the important diſcuſſions which are going to be opened on the fundamental articles of the new conſtitution, it would be undoubtedly a very extraordinary ſpectacle for all nations, and a very grand one for poſterity, to ſee the French nation, in the midſt of the preparations for an univerſal war, ſurrounded by the ſhattered remains of a monarchy which had been ſupported by the prejudices of ſo many centuries, calmly employed in eſtabliſhing its liberty by durable laws, and in proclaiming the equality of all men in the preſence of all the deſpots of the earth.

We give an abſtract of this code.

The object, it begins, of all union of men in Society, being the maintaining of natural, civil, and political rights, theſe rights ought to be the baſis of the ſocial compact. The acknowledgement and declaration of them ought to precede the Conſtitution which aſſures the guarantee of them.

Declaration of the Natural, Civil, and Political Rights of Man.

1. The Natural, Civil, and Political Rights are: Liberty, Equality, Security, Property, the ſocial guarantee, and reſiſtance to oppreſſion.

2. Liberty conſiſts in the power of doing whatever is not contrary to the rights of others.

3. The preſervation of Liberty depends on the ſubmiſſion to the laws, which

which are expreſſive of the general will; whatever is not forbidden by them cannot be prevented.

4. Every man has the liberty to manifeſt his thoughts, provided they be not ſubverſive of public order.

5. The Liberty of the Preſs can be neither interdicted, nor ſuſpended, nor limited.

6. Every man is free to follow his peculiar mode of worſhip.

7. Equality conſiſts in this, that all the Citizens ſhall enjoy the ſame rights.

8. The law is the ſame for all, whether it be to protect or to puniſh.

9. Every citizen is admiſſible to every employment.

10. Security conſiſts in the protection granted to each citizen of his perſon and property.

11. No one can be called to judgement, arreſted, nor confined, but according to law. Every act contrary to the preceding article is arbitrary and puniſhable.

12. Thoſe who execute arbitrary acts are liable to puniſhment.

13. Thoſe againſt whom ſuch acts ſhould be attempted, have a right to repel force by force.

14. Every man being preſumed innocent until he be declared guilty, if it be judged indiſpenſable to arreſt him, every act of rigour which is not neceſſary for ſecuring his perſon is a crime.

15. No man can be puniſhed but by virtue of a law exiſting before his crime.

16. Every retro-active effect given to a law is a crime.

17. The law is to pronounce only ſuch puniſhments as are ſtrictly neceſſary for the ſecurity of ſociety.

18. The right of property conſiſts in the power that every man has to diſpoſe, at his will, of his eſtates, income, capital, &c.

19. No kind of labour can be prohibited.

20. Every man may engage himſelf in ſervice, but not ſell himſelf: his perſon is not an alienable property.

21. No one can be deprived of the leaſt portion of his property, unleſs the public intereſt requires it, and on the condition of a juſt compenſation.

22. No contribution can be eſtabliſhed but for the public ſervice. All the citizens have the right of concurring in the eſtabliſhment of thoſe contributions.

23. Elementary inſtruction is neceſſary to every one.

24. The public inſtruction and ſuccours are the ſacred debts of the ſtate.

25. The guarantee of property conſiſts in the property of every one being under the protection of the National Sovereignty.

26. That Sovereignty is one, indiviſible, impreſcriptible, inalienable.

27. It reſides eſſentially in the body of the people.

28. No union of parties, no individuals can attribute to themſelves the National Sovereignty, nor exerciſe its functions without delegation.

29. The guarantee cannot exiſt without the limitation of powers.

30. It is the duty of every citizen to give his aſſiſtance to the law.

31. Men united in ſociety ought to have legal means of reſiſting oppreſſion.

32. In all free governments the mode of that reſiſtance ſhould be regulated.

33. A nation have always a right to reviſe and correct their Conſtitution. One generation has not a right to fetter ſucceeding generations; therefore all hereditary enjoyment of offices is abſurd.

After the recognition of theſe rights, on which the government is founded, the French nation is declared to form one indiviſible Republic.

The diviſion into departments is retained; each department is divided into communes or diſtricts, and each commune into municipal ſections, and primary aſſemblies.

Primary Aſſemblies.

In the primary aſſemblies, every man 21 years of age has a right to vote, provided that his name is inſcribed on the civic table, and that he ſhall have reſided one year in France.

The primary aſſemblies ſhall be ſo diſtributed in each department, that none ſhall conſiſt of leſs than 400, or more than 500 members; in each of theſe a ſelect committee is to be choſen by ballot, conſiſting of as many members as there are fifties of citizens in the Aſſembly.

In this committee, he who has the majority of votes ſhall be preſident of the aſſembly; the three next on the liſt ſhall be ſecretaries. The duty of the ſelect committee is to keep the records, and to arrange and ſubmit the buſineſs to the aſſembly.

All elections are to be carried on in thoſe aſſemblies. The intermediate or electoral aſſemblies have no place in this code. The elections are to be made by

what is called a double ſcrutiny; each gives in a ſigned liſt of candidates, equal to the number of places to be filled. Theſe bulletins, or liſts of preſentation, as they are termed, are ſent to the adminiſtration of each department. They ſelect a triple number of thoſe candidates who have moſt votes, and from thoſe ſent back to the primary aſſemblies, a definitive election is made, each citizen giving in as before a ſigned liſt of the candidates to whom he gives his preference.

In the deliberations of theſe aſſemblies, the ſame mode is to be followed as in the elections. The queſtion is to be ſhaped ſo far as to be anſwered by a ſimple negative or affirmative. On the day appointed for the deciſion, each citizen gives in a bulletin, or ſlip of paper, inſcribed with his name, and the word *yes* or *no*. Theſe are to be tranſmitted from the diſtrict to the department, where the general reſult is to be aſcertained.

Adminiſtrative Bodies.

There ſhall be in each department, an adminiſtrative council of 13 members; and, in each diſtrict, an adminiſtration of 12 members, with ſubordinate agencies. The former are to controul the revenue, and to correſpond with the executive government. The interior adminiſtrations are not as yet organized.

The adminiſtrators are to be elected in the primary aſſemblies, and the half renewed every two years.

Executive Council.

I. The executive council of the Republic ſhall be compoſed of ſeven general agents or miniſters, and a ſecretary.

II. There ſhall be,

1. A miniſter of legiſlation.
2. A miniſter of war.
3. A miniſter for foreign affairs.
4. A miniſter of public contributions.
5. A miniſter of the marine.
6. A miniſter of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures.
7. A miniſter of works, aids, public eſtabliſhments, and arts.

III. Each of the miniſters ſhall alternately preſide in the executive council, and the preſident ſhall be changed every fifteen days.—To this council it belongs to execute all the laws and all the decrees paſſed by the legiſlative body.

The miniſters are to be choſen in the primary aſſemblies, and in the manner before deſcribed — Eight *ſuppléans*, or ſubſtitutes, are to be choſen at the ſame time.

The members of the council are to be choſen for two years. The half [illegible] be renewed every year; but [illegible] may be re-elected.

The executive council [illegible] accountable to, and cannot be [illegible] the legiſlative body. They have no controul over the national treaſury, which is to be directed by three commiſſioners appointed for that purpoſe, and [illegible] in the ſame manner. Two hundred members are to be choſen in the legiſlative body, of whom a jury of ſeven is to audite each account.

Legiſlative Body.

The legiſlative body is to conſiſt of one chamber, and to be renewed annually, by election in the manner before mentioned.

The number of deputies to be ſent from each department is to be newly fixed every ten years according to the increaſe or decreaſe of the population.

The members of the legiſlative body ſhall not at any time be proſecuted, impeached, or tried for any thing which they may have ſaid or written in the execution of their functions.

No propoſition ſhall paſs into a law, unleſs it be firſt propoſed in the Aſſembly, then referred to a committee of thirteen, and, after the interval of a fortnight, if the time ſhould permit, re-debated in the Aſſembly.

Cenſorſhip of People.

Under this head it is propoſed, that any citizen ſhall have the right of convoking the primary aſſembly where he reſides, to conſider of the enactment of a new, or the repeal of an exiſting, law. If they agree to the propoſition, they are to addreſs the people of other aſſemblies; and the wiſh of the department, thus collected, is to be tranſmitted to and decided upon by the members of the legiſlative body

The citizens ſhall likewiſe have the right to demand an enquiry into the conduct of public functionaries, in caſe of abuſe of power and violations of the law.

A Convention.

A convention is to be ſummoned whenever any change is made in the legiſlative body. In the twentieth year after the paſſing of the conſtitutional code, a convention ſhall be called to reviſe and improve.

The convention cannot hold its ſittings within fifty leagues of the legiſlative body. It ſhall be formed of two members from each department.

Ab-

Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

In the civil as well as the criminal Code, the trial by jury is to be eſtabliſhed. The jurors as well as the judges are to be elected. The former to be taken one from every hundred citizens. The jury to conſiſt of a Director, a Reporter, a National Commiſſioner, and a number of jurymen to be ſpecified.

The puniſhment of death is aboliſhed for all private offences.

There are to be two juries, whoſe functions correſpond with thoſe of the grand and petty juries in the Engliſh conſtitution.

Judicial cenſors are to be appointed to travel, at fixed periods, and to try all queſtions of appeal.

A national jury, conſiſting of three jurors from each department, is to try all queſtions of high treaſon.

The arreſt and detention of an individual are qualified by a number of minute regulations, highly favourable to perſonal liberty.

The liberty of the preſs is declared to be indefinite.

None can be judged, either civilly or criminally, on account of writings printed or publiſhed, except it ſhall have been recogniſed and declared by a jury, 1ſt, whether there is any criminality in the writing denounced; 2dly, whether the perſon proſecuted is guilty of it.

Public Force.

The force of the Republic is placed under the controul of the Executive Council. The public force is declared to be eſſentially obedient, as no armed body can deliberate.

The Commanders in Chief are to have annual and revocable commiſſions from the Executive Council.

The Commanders of the National Guards ſhall be elected annually by the citizens in each diſtrict.

Public Contributions.

The public Contributions ought never to exceed the exigencies of the ſtate.

There cannot be eſtabliſhed any contribution, which by its nature, or by its mode of exaction, might be injurious to the free diſpoſal of property, to the progreſs of induſtry and of commerce, to the circulation of capitals, or might produce the violation of the rights recogniſed and declared by the Conſtitution.

The amount ſhall be fixed each year by the Legiſlative Body, and cannot exceed that term. They are to be publiſhed annually.

Relation to Foreign Powers.

The French will only take up arms for the ſake of their liberty. It renounces all acceſſion of territory, unleſs by the wiſh, freely expreſſed, of its inhabitants.

The declaration of war ſhall be made by the Legiſlative Body; treaties of peace, commerce, and alliance, ſhall be made by the Executive Council, and ratified by the Legiſlative Body, &c.

Preſented by the members forming the Committee of Conſtitution,

Barrere, Briſſot, Condorcet, Danton, Genſonne, Petion, Sieyes, Thomas Paine, Vergniaud.

CAPTURES.

By the Britiſh.

By the Bedford, the Hagen Adelſtein, Woxholt, from Barcelona to Dunkirk, ſent into Falmouth.

By the Leopard, La Victoire, from Port au Prince to Havre-de-Grace, arrived at Falmouth.

By the Lizard frigate, the Iris Amis privateer, of 4 guns and 25 men; retaken, a Bremen gallot with deals, and three other veſſels, names unknown, ſent into Harwich.

By the Badger, exciſe cutter, a Swediſh brig, with iron, wood, &c. from Gottenburg to St Maloes, ſent into the Downs.

By the Royal Charlotte exciſe cutter, the Republican privateer, of Dunkirk, with 6 guns and 37 men, carried into Leith.

By the Swallow, cuſtomhouſe cutter, a lugger of 6 guns and 60 men, after a chace of ſix hours and a half, carried into Portſmouth.

By the Greyhound, cuſtomhouſe cutter, the Cuſtine, from Cherburg, of 50 tons, 6 guns 7 ſwivels, and 47 men, carried into Weymouth.

By the Hind frigate, the Superb, of 300 tons, with ſugar, coffee, &c. ſent into the Downs.

By the Surpriſe privateer, the Kelch Guſtava Bogge, from Gotteuburg to Oſtend, brought into the Downs.

By the Hunter, cuſtomhouſe cutter, Le Fruit de la Mer, of Dunkirk, a fiſhing ſmack of 40 tons, ſent into Yarmouth.

By the Ceres frigate, a Swediſh ſhip loaded with corn for France, ſent into Cromarty.

By the Surpriſe cutter, the Dutch brig two Brothers, from Havre-de Grace to Alderney, with ſugar and coffee, carried into Portſmouth.

By the Harriot of Liverpool, the brigantine L'Agreable, from Port-au-Prince to Bourdeaux, with ſugar, coffee, and indigo, carried into Liverpool.

By Adm. Goodall's ſquadron, the Trois

Freres Le Victoire, Le Poſtillion de Cap, Magdelain, and Feurmi, from Martinique, with ſugar, coffee, cotton, &c; La Jeune Pauline, from Charleſtown; La Pierette, from New York; Deux Freres, from Marſeilles, with wine and brandy; L'Amitie; and Le Caprice, from Cette, with wine and brandy; Le St Antoine, from Meſſina; Le Bien Aime, from Alicant; and Les Amis with wine and brandy; with ſeveral other veſſels, carried into Gibraltar.

By the Ann privateer, of Liverpool, a privateer, with 14 guns and 70 men, ſent into Liverpool

By the Tartar privateer, of Guernſey, La Diſpenſable, from Port-au Prince to Bourdeaux, of 450 tons, loaded with ſugar, coffee, &c. carried into Penzance.

By the Prince of Wales privateer, of Liverpool, Le Federatis, from Cape Francois to Bourdeaux, valued at upwards of 40,000l. ſent into Hoylake.

By the Ferret, ſloop of war, Le Fantaſie privateer, from Dunkirk, with 8 guns and 43 men, brought into the Downs.

The King George, Roſs, from Charleſtown to London, taken by a French privateer, was retaken by the Spitfire ſloop of war, and ſent into Plymouth.

By the Hind frigate, a privateer, of 16 guns; alſo her prize, the Thetis, from Jamaica to London, both ſent into Portſmouth.

By ditto, the Young Boy, a Dane, from Genoa to Havre, arrived at Cowes.

Retaken by the Repulſe revenue cutter, the Commerce, of London, coal-loaded.

By the Active privateer, of Jerſey, a lugger with wine, from St Martin's to Nantz, ſent into Plymouth.

Retaken by the Hope, Roſcow, of London, the Rover, Adey, from Malaga to London, arrived at Liſbon.

By the Ranger privateer, of Alderney, an American veſſel for France, with 2600 barrels of flour, carried into Alderney.

By the Dudgeon privateer of Liverpool, Le D'Avhric de Croy, from Charleſtown to St Villery, and St Rama, from St Domingo to Havre-de-Grace, ſent into Liverpool.

Retaken by a Guernſey privateer, the Unity, Boden, from Figuera to Newfoundland, carried into Torbay.

By the Princeſs Elizabeth cutter of Liverpool, Les Bons Freres, from St Domingo to Bourdeaux, carried into Falmouth.

By the Spaniards.

The Cinque Freres, Delabazatz, from Newfoundland to Bayonne, is put into St Andero, and there ſeized.

The Malabar, from the Eaſt Indies for France, put into Cadiz, March 13. and is detained.

By the French.

The Laurens, White, from Charleſtown to London, carried into St Maloes.

The Maria, Ingram, from Ancona to Genoa and Liſbon, carried into Nice.

Leghorn, March 18. By advice from Malta, we hear that a French frigate cruizing there had brought in four Engliſh veſſels; one from Zant with currants, one from Meſſina, and two from Smyrna, (a brig and a very large ſhip,) that the ſhip was without a head.

Rowen, April 2. One of your India Company's ſhips homeward, is reported to be taken by a privateer of St Malo, and carried into Breſt.

The ——, Capt. Heyne, and the ——, Capt. Wulff, from Oporto to Hambro, carried into Rochelle.

The Lady Mary Shaw, from Jamaica, arrived at Penzance, after being chaſed by a French brig privateer; another privateer took a brig, name unknown.

The Hope, Bear, from Lynn to Liverpool, taken on March 13.

The Sladt, Campen, from Amſterdam to Hamburg, carried into Dunkirk.

The Elizabeth, Huck, from Bourdeaux to Bremen, carried into Cherbourg.

The Diana, Walker, from Alexandria; Good Intent, Ventay, from Briſtol; Trinity, Pullen, from Naples; Ceres, Holmes, from Hamburg; Bernholten, Within, (a Dane), from Galipoly; Holgerwick, Klein, from Amſterdam; Young Alide, Blair, from Archangel; Neute, ——, from Trieſte, carried into Marſeilles.

The Iſis, Fortnerly, from Smyrna; Hudſon, Nicol, from Salonica; and Union, Burr, from Meſſina; carried into Malta.

The Princeſs Royal, of Yarmouth, is reported to be captured, and carried into Nice.

The Superb, Biſhop, from the Bay of Roſes, carried into Morlaix.

The Vryhied, Peterſon, from St Euſtatia to Amſterdam, and an Engliſh veſſel, the ——, Captain Dillon, from ſame place, are carried into France.

A French privateer, with 20 guns, has captured a brig, coal loaded, near Yarmouth, and was in chace of another veſſel.

The Venus, Richards, from Figueira to London, is taken by a French privateer of 16 guns.

The

The Hellen, Cannon, from Carolina, arrived at Cowes, was boarded by a privateer of 10 guns, near Scilly, who informed him that they had taken the Andrew of Philadelphia, Michen, from Charleſtown for Amſterdam, and ſent her to St Maloes.

The Lark, Kinley, from Meſſina to Liverpool, carried into Nantes.

The Vrow Antonia, Tokker, from Brielle to Portſmouth, carried into Havre-de-Grace.

Capt. Chambers, of the Kingſton, arrived at Hull from Liebau, reports that there are French privateers cruizing in the Sleeve, and on the coaſt of Norway, and that more than fourteen veſſels are lying in Norway, prizes to thoſe privateers, amongſt which are two Engliſh veſſels, one of Lynn, the other of Dartmouth, the reſt were Dutch.

The Toevlugt, Tieſſen, from Amſterdam to Hamburg, carried into Stavanger in Norway.

The Hellen and Mary, from Charleſton to Bremen, by a French privateer of 24 guns, gone for St Maloes.

The Hoop, of Hambro', Netſcher, from Liſbon to Hambro', carried into Breſt.

The ——, Capt. Simonſon, (a Dane) from Cette to Bremen, carried into Rochelle.

The Vrow Elizabeth, Roquiſt, from Bourdeaux to Dantzick, carried into Morlaix.

MARRIAGES.

Mar. 31. At Burlington Houſe, Charles Greville, Eſq; to the Rt Hon. Lady Charlotte Cavendiſh Bentinck, eldeſt daughter of the Duke of Portland.

Lately, at Cloſeburn Caſtle, Mr S. J. Stewart of Sheffield, to Miſs Stewart of the former place.

April 2. By ſpecial licence, at Annandale houſe, Cavendiſh ſquare, the Rt Hon. Henry Dundas, Secretary of ſtate for the home department, to Lady Jane Hope, ſiſter to the Earl of Hopetoun.

5. At Edinburgh, Henry Scrymgeour, Eſq; to Miſs Maitland, daughter of the late Hon. Capt. Frederick Maitland of Rankeillor.

5. At Edinburgh, Mr Martin Kilgour, ſurgeon in Muſſelburgh, to Mrs Ramſay of Burnrig.

6. The Hon. Mr St John, to Miſs Craven, ſiſter to Lord Craven.

16. The Earl of Ancrum, to the Rt Hon. Lady Henrietta Hobart.—This Lady was lately Viſcounteſs Belmore of Ireland.

16. At Kelſo, William Rawlinſon, Eſq; to Miſs Katharine Waldie.

18. At London, Mr John Macnab writer to the ſignet, to Miſs Anne Stewart, eldeſt daughter of Duncan Stewart, Eſq; of Ardſhiel.

23. Richard Alexander Oſwald of Auchincruive, Eſq; to Miſs Lucy Johnſton, daughter of the late Wynne Johnſton, Eſq; of Hilton.

23. At Inverary, Mr John Campbell, writer there, to Miſs Jean Campbell, daughter of James Campbell, Eſq; of Silvercraigs.

24. At Edinburgh, Donald Maclean, Eſq; ſon of the deceaſed Allan Maclean of Drimnin, Eſq; to Miſs Lilias Grant, youngeſt daughter of the late Mr Colquhoun Grant, writer to the ſignet.

26. At Edinburgh, John Hamilton, Eſq; of Grangemouth, to Miſs Jeſſie Cleghorn of Dublin.

BIRTHS.

Lately, the Lady of Lord Deſpencer, of a daughter.

April 1. At Yeſter Houſe, the Marchioneſs of Tweeddale, of a ſon.

11 Mrs Pringle of Whitebank, of a ſon.

13. At London, Lady Salisbury, of a ſon.

18. At Edinburgh, Mrs Mansfield, of a daughter.

18. Mrs Cruickſhank of Langley Park, of a daughter.

Vienna, April 20. Her Imperial Majeſty was yeſterday delivered of a Prince, who was this day baptized by the names of Ferdinand, Charles, Leopold, Joſeph, Francis, Marcellin.—After the ceremony the Emperor was congratulated on the birth of an heir. *Lond. Gaz.*

20. At Leſlie Houſe, Mrs Sinclair Ayton of Inchdairney, of a ſon.

DEATHS.

June 1792. In Bengal, Lieut. Peter Blair, in the ſervice of the Eaſt-India Company.

Aug. 10. At Madras, Andrew Morris, Eſq; Commiſſary-General, &c. to the army under Lord Cornwallis for the two laſt campaigns in India.

Sept. At Dacca, Francis Law, Eſq; formerly chief of that ſettlement, and many years reſident in Bengal.

Nov. 19. At Canton in China, Mr John Greig, ſecond ſon of the late Admiral Greig.

Mar. 3. 1793. At Luxemburgh, in his 58th year, the reigning Prince of Anhalt Zerbſt, brother to the Empreſs of Ruſſia, and a general in the Auſtrian ſervice. Having left no children, the branch of Zerbſt finiſhes with him, and his eſtates and feudal poſſeſſions paſs to the other branches of the Houſe of Anhalt.

16. At Mount Didier, in Picardy, M. Carra, painter of the beautiful Pythian Apollo, and other imitative works, from the great

great original, Mazaline. He was of the family of the celebrated M. Carra, who was ſecretary to Cardinal Guimene, and who had exerciſed his pen in ſome very intereſting events of claſſical hiſtory.

23. At Orangefield, Capt. Charles Dalrymple, ſecond ſon of the late Charles Dalrymple, Eſq; of Orangefield.

26. At Madeira, Mrs Forbes of Callender.

26. At Old Meldrum, in his 59th year, George Leſlie, Eſq; of Haddo, in the iſland of Jamaica.

29. At Edinburgh, John Grant of Kilgraiton, Eſq; late Chief-Juſtice of Jamaica.

30. At Hayfield, Dugald Macdougall, Eſq; of Gallinich.

31. At his houſe in Bow-ſtreet, Covent-garden, Sir Sampſon Wright, Kt, th diſtinguiſhed magiſtrate of the public office in that ſtreet.

Lately, Richard Tickell, Eſq; father of Mr Tickell of the ſtamp-office.—This gentleman was ſon of the celebrated Mr Tickell, the friend of Addiſon and other diſtinguiſhed writers of the beginning of the preſent century.

At Stockholm, in his 72d year, Count Horn, preſident of the Swediſh college of war.

April 1. At London, Walter Strickland, Eſq; late Lieutenant-Colonel in the 1ſt regiment of guards,

2. At Invernachyle, Allan Stewart, Eſq; Lieutenant-Colonel of the late North Caroliña Highlanders.

2. At Edinburgh, Mr Colin Macfarquhar, printer, one of the publiſhers of the Encyclopædia Britannica.

2. At Inverneſs, Mrs Marjory Alves, ſpouſe of Mr William Welſh merchant, and ſiſter of the late Dr John Alves of Shipland.

2. At Callart, Mrs Cameron, ſpouſe to Lieut. Donald Cameron.

3. At London, the Rt Hon. Abigail Lady Sheffield.

3. At Plymouth, Alexander Rigby, Lieutenant-Colonel of 25th foot.

4. At the manſe of Tranent, the Rev. Mr Charles Cuningham, in the 92d year of his age, and 53d of his miniſtry.

4. At Venlo, in his 70th year, Walter Grahame, Eſq; many years phyſician to the military hoſpital.

5. At Edinburgh, Mrs Freer, widow of William Freer, Eſq; ſurgeon-general in the armies of the Empreſs of Ruſſia.

5. At Edinburgh, Miſs Ranaldſon, daughter of the late Andrew Ranaldſon, Eſq; of Blairhall.

5. At Jedburgh, Mrs Bennet of Standhill, widow of Andrew Bennet, Eſq; of Cheſters.

6. At London, in an advanced age, Sir James Eaſdaile, Kt, and alderman of the ward of Cripplegate.

7. At Aberdeen, in his 72d year, Mr Alexander Hadden, merchant.

7. At Edinburgh, Mrs Macvicar, widow of Mr Neil Macvicar, late merchant in Edinburgh.

8. At London, in his 75th year, Nathaniel Barwell, Eſq; joint clerk of the committee of privileges, and of the ſelect committees for trying elections in the Houſe of Commons, and one of the paymaſters of the Exchequer bills.

10. At his apartments in St James's Palace, W. Gardner, Eſq; his Majeſty's Sergeant Porter.

11. At London, John Gordon, Eſq; younger of Cairnfield, Advocate.

11. At M. Wearmouth, Mrs Henderſon, wife of the Rev. Mr John Henderſon, and daughter of the late Rev. Mr Haly of Clackmannan.

12. Mr John Burn, teacher of Engliſh in Glaſgow, and author of different publications for the uſe of ſchools.

12. At Killin, Breadalbane, Perthſhire, aged 63, Mr John Dewar ſenior, merchant.

12. At Cumbernauld, aged 110, James Logie, wright. He retained his faculties unimpaired to the laſt, and took his glaſs freely.

13. The Rev. Mr George Harvey, miniſter of the united pariſhes of Larbert and Dunipace.

13. At Edinburgh, Miſs Harriet Maxwell, youngeſt daughter of the deceaſed Major John Maxwell of Cardoneſs.

13 At Canterbury Palace, Lambeth, Charles Hemmington, Eſq; formerly Lieutenant-Colonel of the Welſh fuſileers.

14. At Douglas, iſle of Man, Duncan Robertſon, Eſq; town-major of Hull.

14. At Daikeith, Mr John Montgomerie, ſon of the deceaſed Colonel William Montgomerie.

14. At London, Capt. George Cumine, late of 53d foot.

14. Mr John Maxwell ſenior, writer in Glaſgow.

15. At Stirling, Mrs Jean Watſon, daughter of the deceaſed John Watſon, Eſq; of Thirtyacres.

15. At London, Mr Foſter Powel, the famous pedeſtrian. His extraordinary feats of walking, by which he might, with proper management, have profited ſo much, never produced him enough to keep him above the reach of indigence. Poverty, which he ought always to have kept a day's march behind him, was his conſtant companion in his travels through life, even to the hour of death. In the afternoon of the 22d his remains were brought for interment, agreeably to his own requeſt, to St Paul's church-yard. The funeral was characteriſtically a *walking* one, from New-inn, through Fleet-ſtreet, and up Ludgate-hill. The followers were twenty on foot, in black gowns, and after them came three mourning-coaches—the attendants

tendants were all men of reſpectability. The ceremony was conducted with much decency; and a very great concourſe of people attended. He was buried nearly under the only tree in the church-yard. His age, as inſcribed upon his coffin, was fifty-nine.

16. At Edinburgh, Mr David Robertſon, King's ſmith.

17. At the manſe of Tarbolton, the Rev Dr Peter Wodrow, in the 81ſt year of his age, and 53d of his paſtoral charge of that pariſh.

20. At Edinburgh, Robert Boyd, LL. D. author of the Judicial Proceedings before the high court of admiralty, and ſupreme conſiſtorial or commiſſary court of Scotland, &c. and of the Office, Powers, and Juriſdictions, of his Majeſty's juſtices of the peace, and commiſſioners of ſupply.

20. At Cadder Houſe, Miſs Eliſabeth Hay, ſecond daughter of the deceaſed Alexander Hay, Eſq; of Drummelzier.

20. Mrs Suſan Hunter, wife of Mr James Young, writer in Edinburgh.

20. At Polmont Park, William Pearſon, Eſq; late of Kippenroſs.

21. At Newcaſtle, John Hall, M. D. one of the phyſicians to the infirmary and diſpenſary, and manager of St Luke's hoſpital.

22. At Knightſbridge, Lord William Robert Manners, youngeſt brother of the Duke of Rutland.

22. At Edinburgh, Lieut. Gilbert Blair, of the marines.

22. At Leith, Mrs Stewart Catharine Carmichael, wife of Mr William Douglas, merchant.

22. At Stirling, the Rev. Mr John Muſchet, miniſter there, in the 33d year of his miniſtry.

22. At Edinburgh, Miſs Margaret Cathcart, eldeſt daughter of Sir John Cathcart of Carleton, Bt.

23. At Glaſgow, Mr Robert Miller junior, coppersmith.

25. At Edinburgh, Mrs Lilias Robertſon, daughter of the deceaſed William Robertſon, Eſq; of Myretown.

26. At Edinburgh, William Stewart, Eſq; late of St Catharine's.

29. At London, John Webber, Eſq, royal academician, who accompanied Capt. Cook in his laſt voyage of diſcoveries.

Lately, at Aberdeen, Mr William Dewar, merchant and ſtampmaſter.

PREFERMENTS.

From the London Gazette.

The King has been pleaſed,

Whitehall, April 26 to appoint the Rt Hon. John Earl of Chatham, Charles George Lord Arden, and Samuel Lord Hood, both of the kingdom of Ireland, Alan Gardner, John Smyth, Charles Small Pybus, and Philip Affleck, Vice Admiral of the Blue, to be Commiſſioners for executing the office of High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dominions, iſlands, and territories thereunto belonging.

30. to ordain, by his royal ſign-manual, that the Hon. Anne Murray and the Hon. Marjory Murray, daughters of the late David Viſcount Stormont, and ſiſters to David Earl of Mansfield, K. T. ſhall have and enjoy reſpectively the ſame place, pre-eminence, and precedency, in all aſſemblies or meetings whatſoever, as the daughters of an Earl of the kingdom of Great Britain: And his Majeſty has alſo been pleaſed to order that the ſame be regiſtered in the college of arms.

Commiſſion ſigned by his Majeſty for the army in Ireland, dated Feb. 28.

6th dragoon-guards: Capt. Sir Thomas Chapman, Kt, to be Major, vice Veſey, reſigned.

War-office, April 12.

His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint Lieutenant-General his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York to be General in the army.

War-office, April 16.

18th foot: Maj. David Douglas Wemyſs, from 37th foot, to be Lieutenant-Colonel, by purchaſe, vice Chapman, who retires.

37th foot: Capt. the Hon. Charles Hope, to be Major, by purchaſe, vice Wemyſs, promoted in 18th foot.

Staff. Col. Sir James Murray, Bt, to be Adjutant-General to the forces ſerving on the continent under the command of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York.

Capt. George Mitchell, of 11th dragoons, to be Major of brigade to the forces.

War-office, April 30.

2d battalion royals: Maj. John Saver, from 25th foot, to be Major, vice Hope, who exchanges.

25th foot: Maj. the Hon. John Hope, from 2d bat. royals, to be Major, vice Saver, who exchanges. Maj. the Hon. John Hope to be Lieutenant-Colonel, without purchaſe, vice Rigby, deceaſed. Brev. Maj. William St Clair, to be Major, vice Hope.

60th foot: Capt. Duncan Macintoſh to be Major, by purchaſe, vice Murray, who retires.

His Grace the Duke of Athol to be Colonel in the army, in the Iſle of Man only.

Capt. John Taubman to be Major in the army, in the Iſle of Man only.

Garriſons. Gwynn Vaughan, Eſq; to be Governor of the fort near Fiſhguard in Pembrokeſhire.

Staff. Robert Biſſet, Eſq; from half pay of the late commiſſariot, to be Commiſſary-General of ſtores, proviſions, and forage to all the forces at home.

Capt. Robert Biſſet from half-pay of the late independent companies, and Leonard Beche-

Becher Morſe, to be Deputy-Commiſſaries of ſtores, proviſions, and forage to all the forces at home.

Hoſpital Staff. Dr Gregor Weſt from half-pay, to be Phyſician to the forces on the continent, under the command of the Duke of York.

Vincent Wood, Garriſon-ſurgeon at Chatham barracks, to be Purveyor to the hoſpitals for the ſaid forces.

Thomas Young, Garriſon-ſurgeon of Grenada, to be Surgeon to the ſaid forces.

John Oſſrell, ſurgeon to 29th foot, to be Apothecary to the ſaid forces.

From other Papers.

Havard univerſity in Cambridge, Maſſachuſetts, America, has conferred the degree of Doctor in Divinity on the Rev. Meſſ. John Kemp and Thomas Randall, miniſters of the Tolbooth church, Edinburgh.

The Earl of Hopetoun has preſented Mr Henry Liſton to the church and pariſh of Eccleſmachan, vacant by the death of Mr Peterkin.

A charter has lately paſſed the great ſeal, incorporating the directors of the Academy of Inverneſs, in conſequence of his Majeſty's warrant for that purpoſe.

Mr John Hutton is appointed Superintendant of the police of Edinburgh.

The Earl of Mansfield is elected Chancellor of the Mariſchal College and Univerſity of Aberdeen, in the room of the late Earl of Bute.

BANKRUPTS.

April 1. William Hillhouſe, fleſher in Kilmarnock.

4. James Brown, dealer in horſes and other cattle, at Loudon Kirk.

5. George Hutchiſon, merchant in Aberdeen.

5. Matthew Stirrat, merchant and carrier in Dalney.

6. Andrew Dods, merchant in Wigton.

11. John Graham, merchant in Greenock.

15. James Black, cooper and merchant in Greenock.

15. Daniel Macgibbon, merchant in Greenock.

16. James Andrew, of Townhead of Monkton, merchant and dealer in grain.

25. John Macalliſter, merchant in Killearn, afterwards in Falfron.

25. Davidſon Mackain, merchant and ſpirit-dealer in Edinburgh.

25. Hugh and John Howies, farmers at Langbank, dealers in grain and victual in Glaſgow, as a company; and Hugh Howie and John Howie, as individuals.

25. Walter Boſton, ironmonger in Edinburgh.

26. William Mackenzie, jeweller in Edinburgh.

27. Robert Bowie, wright and cabinet-maker in Stirling.

29. James Burnſide, merchant in Glaſgow.

29. Archibald Mackinnon, ſkipper and trader in Greenock.

Prices of Grain at Haddington, April 26.

Wheat, 26 s. Barley, 25 s. Oats 19 s. 6 d. Peaſe, 20 s. Beans, 19 s. 6 d. Tares, 25 s.

Edinburgh, April 26. Oat-meal, 1 s. 3 d. Bear-meal, 11 d. Peaſe-meal, 10½ d.

Edinburgh Bill of Burials for April.

Burial places.	*Males.*	*Females.*	*Total.*
Grayfriars and Lady Yeſter's,	43	47	90
Weſt-kirk, -	32	27	59
Canongate, -	17	23	40
Calton, - - -	20	16	36
Total,	112	113	225

Age.			
Under	2	67	
Between	2 & 5	19	
	5 & 10	15	
	10 & 20	7	
	20 & 30	13	
	30 & 40	11	
	40 & 50	20	
	50 & 60	18	
	60 & 70	24	
	70 & 80	23	
	80 & 90	8	
	90 & 100	0	
		225	
Increaſed		10	

Diseases, &c.	No
Aged — — —	20
Apoplexy — —	2
Aſthma — — —	2
Bowelhive — —	20
Childbed — —	4
Chincough — —	10
Conſumption —	70
Croop — — —	3
Dropſy — — —	3
Fever — —	40
Fractured ſcull —	1
Gravel — — —	1
Inflammation —	1
Meaſles — —	3
Palſy — — —	2
Rupture — — —	1
Smallpox — —	17
Stillborn — —	5
Suddenly — —	2
Teething — —	15
Vomiting — —	1
Water in head — —	2

PRICES OF STOCKS, April 18.

Bank Stock, 172 ex div.
3 per cent. red. 77½ a ¾ ex div.
3 per cent. conf. 78⅝ a ½ a ¾.
4 per cent 90⅜ a ½ a ½ ex div.
5 per cent. 109⅜ a ½
Long Ann. 22 7-16ths a ½ ex div.
Short Ann. 10⅛ ex div.
India Stock, 214¼.
India Bonds, 1 s. a 2 s. diſc.
Exchеq. Bills, 12 s. diſc.
New Navy Bills, 8 a 8¼ diſc.

April 30.

Bank Stock 169¾.
3 per cent. red. 76¼ a ½.
3 per cent. conf. 77⅛ a ½ a ⅜ a ¼.
4 per cent. 89⅞ a 90¼ a 90.
5 per cent. 108⅝ a 109 a 108¾.
Long Ann. 22⅛ a 3-16ths.
Short Ann. 10 a 10-16ths.
India Bonds, 10 s. diſc.
New Navy Bills, 9 a 8¾ diſc.

THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

MAY, 1793.

CONTENTS.

Committee of the House of Commons on PUBLIC CREDIT 209.
On the failure of HARDOCKS 212.
Extracts of Letters that passed between Miss Seward and Mr Hayley, on Dr Johnson, in 1782, 214.
Anecdote of JOHN Duke of MARLBOROUGH 216.
On a new mode of DRESS 216.
STATE PAPERS.
— Polish protest against the entrance of the Prussian troops 217
— Edict of the Empress of Russia against France 219.
— Prussian manifesto to Dantzick 220.
— British and Imperial ministers to the States-General against French regicides 220.
Account of Mr SMEATON concluded 221.
EXECUTION of LOUIS XVI. 223. His LAST WILL 224.
PARLIAMENT. On the revenues, &c. of India 226. Slave-trade 227. Motion for inquiry into seditious practices 228. Hanoverian troops 229. Budget ib. Loan 232. London duty on coals 234. Scots militia ib.
NEW BOOKS. Philosophical Transactions: Effects of a shipwreck on the mariners 235. Memoir of a map of India 239. Catalogue 241.
POETRY. Yarico to Incle 242. Mr Boswell to Miss B— ib. A hot day 243. A Gypsey ballad ib.
HISTORICAL AFFAIRS. Poland 243.
— Netherlands Archduke Charles's entry into Brussels ib. Engagement at St Amand 244. French camp at Famars taken 245. Furnes taken and evacuated 247.
— England. Lists of ships commissioned 247. Fleets sail 249.
— Captures 250.
— Ireland. Bill for relief of the Roman Catholics 252. Butler and Bond imprisoned for a libel 253. Exports ib.
— Scotland. Circuit-trials 253. Episcopal chapel at Laurencekirk 255. Pettycur harbour 256. A ship overfets at Dundee ib. Fires ib.
LISTS. Marriages, Births, Deaths, &c. 256—260.

STATE of PUBLIC CREDIT.

The Report of the SELECT COMMITTEE *appointed to take into consideration the present State of Commercial Credit, and to report their Opinion and Observation thereupon to the House of Commons.*

THE Committee have thought it incumbent on them, in proceeding to execute the orders of the House, to direct their attention to three principal points: — First, whether the difficulties at present experienced, or the probability of their continuance and increase, are of such urgent importance to the public interest, as to require the interposition of the legislature? secondly, on the supposition that such interposition should be deemed necessary, what is the most practicable and effectual plan which can be adopted for giving relief? thirdly, what means can be suggested for preventing the renewal of similar inconveniences?

The consideration of the first and second head appeared, in some measure, blended together; and the third, though of great importance, appearing to be less urgent in point of time, your committee have thought it proper to submit to the House such considerations as occurred to them upon the two first points; reserving the latter for a separate report.

Under the first of these heads, the notoriety of failures to a considerable extent, the general embarrassment and apprehen-

ſion which has enſued, a conſideration of the neceſſary connection between different mercantile houſes and their dependence on each other, and the influence which the ſtate of commercial credit muſt have upon the trade, the revenue, and general intereſts of the country, appeared ſufficient, without minute examination, to ſatisfy your committee, that the preſent ſituation ſtrongly called for an immediate and effectual remedy, if any practicable plan could be ſuggeſted for that purpoſe.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer laid before the committee a paper which had been delivered to him on the 23d inſtant by the Lord Mayor and Mr Boſanquet. He alſo ſtated to the committee, the circumſtances which had led to this paper being drawn up: that he had received repreſentations from many different quarters, which induced him to believe that the failures which had taken place had begun by a run on thoſe houſes who had iſſued circulating paper without being poſſeſſed of ſufficient capital; but that the conſequences had ſoon extended themſelves ſo far as to affect many houſes of great ſolidity, and poſſeſſed of funds ultimately much more than ſufficient to anſwer all demands upon them; but which had not the means of converting thoſe funds into money, or negotiable ſecurities, in time to meet the preſſure of the moment: that the ſudden diſcredit of a conſiderable quantity of paper, which had been iſſued by different banks, in itſelf produced a deficiency of the circulating medium which in the ordinary courſe of things could not be immediately replaced, and that this deficiency occaſioned material inconvenience in mercantile tranſactions: that in addition to this immediate effect, theſe circumſtances alſo were repreſented to have induced bankers and others to keep in their hands a greater quantity of money than they thought neceſſary in the uſual train of buſineſs, and that large ſums were thus kept out of circulation, and great difficulty aroſe in procuring the uſual advances on bills of exchange, particularly thoſe of a long date: that many perſons were ſaid to be poſſeſſed of large ſtocks of goods which they could not at preſent diſpoſe of, and on the credit of which they could not raiſe money: that this occaſioned an interruption of the uſual orders to manufacturers; which circumſtance, together with the interruption of the means by which they were enabled to make their weekly payments, tended to prevent the employment of a number of perſons engaged in different manufactures; that theſe evils were repreſented as likely rapidly to increaſe to a very ſerious extent, if ſome extraordinary means were not adopted to reſtore credit and circulation: that in conſequence of theſe repreſentations, he had deſired a meeting of different gentlemen, in order to obtain the beſt information in his power reſpecting the extent of the evil, and poſſibility and propriety of any meaſure to remedy it: that after much diſcuſſion, all the gentlemen preſent ſeemed to agree in a very ſtrong opinion of the extent of the evil, though many objections at firſt occurred to any plan for remedying it: that in the reſult, it was agreed to deſire the gentlemen whoſe names were mentioned in the paper now delivered, to meet the next day at the mauſion-houſe, to conſider more particularly the propoſal for the iſſue of exchequer bills to a certain amount, to be advanced under proper regulations, for the accommodation of ſuch perſons as might apply for the ſame, and likewiſe the objections to which ſuch a propoſal might be liable; and that the paper which he had laid before the committee contained the opinion of this ſecond meeting.

The Lord Mayor informed the committee, that in conformity to the ſtatement mentioned by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, eleven gentlemen met at the mauſion-houſe on the 23d, ſelected principally from that part of the preceding meeting who had expreſſed the greateſt difficulties in finding out a remedy; and after a long diſcuſſion upon the ſubject, they unanimouſly were of opinion, that the interpoſition of Parliament was neceſſary; and that an iſſue of exchequer-bills, under certain regulations and ſtipulations, was the beſt practicable remedy.

Mr Thornton repreſented, that he was at this time acquainted with the ſituation of five or ſix mercantile houſes, who were in the poſſeſſion of large quantities of goods the produce of which would give them effectual relief; but that, owing to the ſtagnation of trade, and the impoſſibility of converting theſe goods into money, the houſes in queſtion were under very great apprehenſion of being ſhortly obliged to ſtop payment.

Mr Alderman Anderſon and Mr Chiſwell informed the committee of circumſtances nearly ſimilar to what Mr Thornton had repreſented.

Mr

Mr Gilbert Innes, a director of the royal bank of Scotland, informed the committee, that as a director of the royal bank of Scotland, he has had many occaſions to judge of the preſent ſtate of commercial credit in Scotland. That the country is in very great diſtreſs; and the two chartered banks will not be able much longer, with prudence to themſelves, to furniſh the accommodation and ſupport neceſſary to different mercantile and manufacturing houſes, nor to the country banks; and if ſomething is not immediately done by government, a very general failure may be expected; and that many houſes with undoubted effects, and who would ultimately pay all demands againſt them, will be involved, unleſs they can obtain a temporary relief. There have been ſeveral failures, and a very conſiderable one lately, which is connected with manufacturers, who may ultimately be involved, and where ſeven or eight hundred perſons are employed. The effect of theſe failures in his opinion muſt occaſion many manufacturers to be thrown out of employment, and he has heard ſome were already diſmiſſed; and ſuch is the preſſure of the times, that the diſtreſs if not ruin of ſeveral manufacturing houſes may enſue.

This proſpect of diſtreſs to the manufacturers in his opinion ariſes, not ſo much from a failure of the uſual markets for the goods, as from the difficulty in diſcounting in London and in Scotland the long dated bills received for the goods.

He certainly thinks that paper iſſued on government ſecurity, and advanced upon the depoſit of goods, or other unqueſtionable private ſecurity, would, when properly underſtood, be a material relief in the preſent diſtreſs of Scotland; and he believes the quantity of paper circulated by the country banks has of late been conſiderably diminiſhed, and their diſcounts on bills of exchange greatly ſo, ſince theſe troubles began.

Mr Macdowall, a member of this Houſe, ſtated, that he is repreſentative in parliament for the city of Glaſgow, from whence he had this morning returned, and that he had there found all the commercial houſes and manufacturers in the greateſt diſtreſs, from the late ſtagnation of commercial credit, and total want of private confidence.

The preſent diſtreſs does not appear to him to ariſe from a want of property or funds, but from the ſtop which has been lately put to diſcounting bills at any of the Glaſgow, Paiſley, or Greenock banks, who have not for ſome time paſt diſcounted to any extent, from their notes being pourid in upon them for gold, and from the alarm which the preſent ſituation of credit in London has occaſioned.

The manufacturers have plenty of goods on hand in London and in Glaſgow, which they cannot ſell but at ſo reduced a price as renders it perfectly abſurd for them to think of diſpoſing of their goods, in order to obtain immediate relief.

The reſult of the information thus obtained, confirms your committee in the general impreſſion which they have already ſtated, and ſeems to preclude the neceſſity of requiring further evidence as to the extent of the evil and the neceſſity of a remedy: and the urgency of the occaſion appears to render it highly deſirable to avoid all unneceſſary delay.

With reſpect to the amount of the ſum to be iſſued, the committee are of opinion, that it will be adviſable to extend it to 5,000,000l. inſtead of 3,000,000l. as originally ſuggeſted.

Your committee having ſtated the different obſervations which occur to them on the particular parts of the plan, they have only to recapitulate the reſult, which they think it their duty to ſubmit to the conſideration of the Houſe.

Firſt, That power be given to iſſue exchequer bills, to an amount not exceeding 5,000 000l. in ſums of 100l. 50l. and 20l. to bear an intereſt of 2½ per cent. per day, and to be payable, one fourth part on the 31ſt day of Auguſt next, one fourth part on the 30th of November next, one fourth part on the 28th of February 1794, and one fourth part on the 31ſt of May 1794.

Secondly, That Commiſſioners ſhould be appointed for the purpoſe of advancing theſe exchequer bills, under certain regulations, to act without fee or reward, to take an oath for the due execution of the truſt, to have power to appoint the neceſſary officers, to adminiſter oaths, and to apply ſuch ſums as may be requiſite for defraying the expences of executing the commiſſion.

Thirdly, That immediately after the paſſing of this act, one fourth part of the exchequer bills ſhall be iſſued by the commiſſioners, to the perſons to whom they ſhall think proper to advance the ſame.

Fourthly, That the commiſſioners ſhall be at liberty to advance exchequer bills on the ſecurity of goods to be de-

poſited in the cuſtody of officers to be named by the commiſſioners, in London, Briſtol, Hull, Liverpool, Leith, or Glaſgow, or on ſuch perſonal ſecurities of a given number of perſons, as ſhall be ſatisfactory to the commiſſioners. Theſe advances in no caſe to be more than 50l. per cent. on the value of the ſecurities, and to be leſs at the diſcretion of the commiſſioners.

Fifthly, That, immediately after the paſſing of the act the commiſſioners ſhall receive and open all ſuch applications as ſhall be then made to them, ſpecifying the amount of the advance deſired, and the particulars of the ſecurity.

Sixthly, That if upon conſideration it ſhall at any time appear to the commiſſioners that further advances beyond the ſum of 1,250,000l. may be adviſable, the commiſſioners of the treaſury ſhall be enabled, on their requiſition, to authoriſe the advance of the remaining exchequer bills, to ſuch an amount as ſhall be found expedient.

Seventhly, That on failure of re-payment, at the limited times, of the ſums advanced, the commiſſioners ſhall be authoriſed to ſell, by public auction, ſo much as may be neceſſary of the goods on the depoſits of which ſuch ſums ſhall have been advanced, or to proceed againſt the perſons who have given ſecurity for the ſame.

Eighthly, That all the mónies which ſhall be repaid from time to time by the parties to whom advances ſhall have been made, or which ſhall, in caſe of default, be recovered by the commiſſioners, ſhall be placed in the Bank, where a diſtinct account ſhall be kept of the ſame; that theſe monies ſhall be applicable to pay the principal and intereſt of the exchequer bills at the times limited for paying the ſame reſpectively; and the ſurplus, if any, after the 31ſt of May 1794, ſhall be applicable, in the firſt inſtance, for the purpoſe of replacing the ſums iſſued for defraying the expence of the commiſſion, and the remainder as parliament ſhall direct.

Obſervations on the remarkable failure of HADDOCKS, *on the coaſts of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkſhire; in two letters from the Rev. Cooper Abbs, to Dr Blagden, Sec. R. S.*

From the Philoſophical Tranſactions.

SIR, *Sunderland, May* 9. 1792.

THE great loſs ſuſtained by the counties of Northumberland, Durham, and Yorkſhire, by the almoſt total failure of haddocks, during the three laſt ſeaſons is a circumſtance of ſerious conſequence to theſe maritime counties, and perhaps not unworthy the notice and attention of the gentleman and philoſopher.

As far back as the memory of the oldeſt man reaches, for about three months in the year (beginning about Martinmas,) prodigious quantities of haddocks, in fine weather, were daily caught on the above coaſts, which gave employment to great numbers of men, and afforded a cheap and very acceptable article of food to all ranks of people, high and low. Beſides the conſumption on and near the coaſts, great quantities were conſtantly carried at leaſt a hundred miles into and over the country.

In the winter 1789, I am very credibly informed, and ſincerely believe, that not a ten thouſandth part (I ſpeak much within bounds) of the uſual quantity was taken; and, I can venture to ſay, the quantity has been greater, if not much leſs, for the two laſt ſeaſons, to the great aſtoniſhment of the poor fiſhermen.

I have frequently converſed with the moſt experienced men in this line of buſineſs, to diſcover, if poſſible, the cauſe of this extraordinary failure. One man, with more religious ſubmiſſion than philoſophic judgement, aſcribes it to the will and pleaſure of the Almighty; a ſecond, to the great quantities of ballaſt caſt by the colliers into the ſea, at or near the mouths of the rivers Tyne and Wear. But this ſeems a very inadequate reaſon; for granting this act might in ſome ſmall degree affect theſe places for a few miles, yet it could not affect the coaſts at any conſiderable diſtance, either to the north or ſouth. This laſt circumſtance has in ſome degree affected the lobſters within a few miles of the two rivers, by filling up the holes and cavities in or under the rocks, where the lobſters uſed formerly to lie, and retreat to in ſtormy weather; ſo that, being now in a great meaſure deprived of their old abodes of ſecurity, they are frequently, in ſtorms and tempeſts, thrown on the ſhore, ſhattered and broken in pieces. A third aſcribes the failure to the great number of dog-fiſh on the coaſts; but I ſuppoſe the number of them to be nearly the ſame, year by year. The dog-fiſh is very voracious, and a great enemy to the fiſherman and his tackle, and therefore never ſpared when caught; beſides, it is well known that dog-fiſh chiefly

chiefly purſue the ſhoals of herrings, which have left theſe coaſts before the haddocks come on. A fourth ſays, the ſhoal of haddocks has met with beds of copperas at the bottom of the ſea, and thereby is poiſoned; but why ſhould ſuch beds (ſuppoſing the caſe true) have worſe effects in 1789, than at any time before?

It is an indiſputable fact, that many ſhips, on the return from Archangel, in the latter end of 1789, ſaw immenſe quantities of haddocks (no other fiſh were particularized,) for fifty or ſixty leagues, I believe, lying dead on the ſurface of the ſea, but could not at that time aſcribe any cauſe for the event. I believe about that time an eruption broke out in Hecla, and perhaps it may with ſome degree of probability be conjectured, that volcanic matter, of noxious quality, may have burſt in the ſea, and occaſioned the above deſtruction and failure ever ſince.

The few haddocks caught in 1789 and 1790 were remarkably large; theſe keep neareſt the ſhore: the ſmall ones lie more at ſea; ſo that, when fiſhermen were wont to catch ſmall haddock, they deſiſted, and came nearer the ſhore to procure the large ones. The ſhoal generally lay about one league from the ſhore, was about three miles in breadth, and in length extended near the whole coaſts of the three counties, in conſtant ſucceſſion, for about three months. The breed of haddocks ſeems nearly deſtroyed on theſe coaſts, which is a loſs of many thouſands of pounds per annum to fiſhermen and others, beſides the loſs of a very plentiful and acceptable article of food to perſons of all ranks, eſpecially in the winter ſeaſon, when the price of proviſions bears hard upon the poor.

May I hazard one queſtion: Is it probable that, in the enſuing winter, or a few ſucceeding ones, the fiſhery may recover by the return of a ſhoal of haddocks! For the two laſt winters I have waited with anxiety, but in vain, for ſuch an event to take place. I am, &c.

COOPER ABBS.

SIR, *Sunderland, May* 27. 1792.

Encouraged by the unexpected and favourable attention paid to my letter by Sir Joſeph Banks and yourſelf, I have, ſince the receipt of your favour of the 19th, daily mounted my horſe, to endeavour to gain further information on the myſterious ſubject. Three days ago, I was fortunate enough to hear of two perſons in Northumberland who were at Archangel in 1789, and waited upon them yeſterday. As they lived about two miles aſunder from each other, the one at North Shields, and the other at a village in the country, I had an opportunity of hearing, and aſking them queſtions ſeparately. Their names are, Mr John Stoker, of the Ranger, and Mr John Armſtrong, of the Integrity, of North Shields, maſters of ſhips of conſiderable ſize and value, men of ſober, decent character, intelligent and reſpected in their line of profeſſion, from whom I received the following account, which I have every reaſon to believe true. That in the latter end of July 1789, on the light paſſage to Archangel, after doubling the North Cape, (where they joined eight or ten ſail of large ſhips from various ports and nations), and reducing their latitude from 69 to 68, between Filher's Iſland and Sweetnoſe, for about thirty leagues eaſt and ſouth, they, to their great ſurpriſe, for the ſpace of three days, in which they had variable winds or light airs, fell in with immenſe quantities of haddocks and coalfiſh, and no other whatever, (the laſt is an ordinary fiſh, and perhaps its name may be local here, and unknown to you, but I confeſs I do not know any other name it has), lying on the ſurface of the ocean, and ſufficient, from the view they had of them for the three days, to have loaded all the ſhips then in company. That they found them for the ſpace of between twenty and thirty leagues in length, and in breadth, to the eaſt, from three to five leagues, as the ſhips ſtood off and on; but how much farther to the eaſt, and a few other points, they might extend, theſe perſons cannot pretend to ſay, ſuch points being out of their courſe for the ports they were deſtined to. That moſt of the fiſh were dead, though ſome were alive, as appeared by a ſlight motion of the tail, but in a very weak, feeble ſtate, and unable to ſink in the water.

In the above particulars Meſſ. Stoker and Armſtrong perfectly agree as to the truth of the fact. The latter, through cautious timidity, prevented his crew from taking up any of the fiſh; but the former took on board many, both dead and in a dying ſtate, of which he firſt ate, and then ſuffered his men to do the ſame: and at Archangel gave the remainder to the cuſtomhouſe officers, without any

perſon

perſon receiving the leaſt injury. Mr Stoker having, previous to eating the fiſh, tried the uſual experiment at ſea, of putting ſilver into the freſh water wherein the fiſh were boiled, the ſilver was not at all diſcoloured.

Talking with Mr Stoker, in his parlour, I aſked him how many fiſh he could take up in that or any other given ſpace? He anſwered, that in various places the fiſh lay ſo thick, that in the compaſs of twelve or fifteen yards a boat load, from three to five tons, might have been taken up: that he meaſured ſeveral of the haddocks, from two to two feet eight inches in length, and ſix or ſeven inches deep; about twice the ſize of haddocks on our coaſts. That he opened all the haddocks he took on board, and in every one of them, both dead and expiring, he ſaw the *ſound* much inflated or blown up, to which he aſcribes the great deſtruction, but without being able to give any further ſatisfactory reaſon.

Mr Stoker went from Archangel to Onega; and when Mr Armſtrong, at the former place, related the ſtory to the merchants and inhabitants at the Exchange, they replied, that they had known and heard of ſimilar accidents; and that the great quantity of thunder and lightning, uſual near the Cape, was the reaſon.

To the above relation, which I verily believe to be juſt and true, I ſhall not preſume to add a word of my own, but ſubmit the whole to your conſideration.

In my excurſion along the coaſts of Northumberland, I found a fiſherman careening his boat, who told me that, prior to the late failure, he had frequently, with the aſſiſtance of two men, taken and ſent to Newcaſtle, in one day, two boat loads of haddocks, containing in each from eighty to a hundred ſcore; but in the laſt ſeaſon he had not, in the whole, taken more than forty or fifty haddocks. He could give no reaſon for the failure, but another man attributed the ſcarcity to the want of hard gales of wind, for ſome years, to blow the fiſh off the Dogger Bank to theſe coaſts.

The accounts received from Meſſ. Stoker and Armſtrong being more authentic than what I had heard before, will be a ſufficient apology, I truſt, for the few ſlight variations in my two letters.

I verily believe I cannot trace this ſubject further, without able inſtructions from gentlemen well verſed in a branch of knowledge wherein I am a novice.

I am, &c. COOPER ABBS.

Extracts from Letters that paſſed between Miſs SEWARD *and Mr* HAYLEY, *on Dr* JOHNSON, *in the year* 1782.

1. Miſs SEWARD to Mr HAYLEY.

YOU have ſeen Dr Johnſon's Lives of the Poets; they have excited your generous indignation; a heart like Mr Hayley's would ſhrink back aſtoniſhed to perceive a mind, ſo enriched with the powers of Genius, capable of ſuch cool malignity. Yet the Gentleman's Magazine praiſed theſe unworthy efforts to blight the laurels of decided fame. O that the venom may fall where it ought! that the breath of public contempt might blow it from the beauteous wreaths it was intended to wither! and, if it muſt fall ſomewhere, that it might canker his own to lateſt poſterity. I am afraid, my dear Sir, that you will ſee but little of the *Serena-ſpirit* in this warm anathema; but in ſuch a cauſe who would not allow a few ſparkles to ſtart from the zone? I turn from this Comet in Literature to its Sun.

2. Mr H. to Miſs S. Aug. 5.

I have indeed read the Lives of the Poets, with as much indignation as you can give me credit for, with a ſtrange mixture of deteſtation and delight. When I ſee him vilifying an exalted and immortal poet, I conſider him as the Satan of Milton curſing the Sun for ſhining in that ſphere from which he is for ever excluded. But as his language, to give the devil his due, is frequently ſublime, and enriched with certain diabolical graces of his own, I continue to liſten to him, whenever he ſpeaks, with an equal mixture of admiration and abhorrence.

3. Miſs S. to Mr H. Sept. 7.

It charms me to find you expreſſing over Johnſon's critical works thoſe feelings which have ſo many times ſtruggled in my boſom—not that I have been hitherto able to read the whole of the new volumes—but in the parts of them which I have peruſed, I ſee much to execrate, and ſome things to admire. I yet dread to peruſe them at large, for the venom of Envy corrodes my peace when I ſee it thrown by ſo able a hand upon the beautiful works, to which my underſtanding and pleaſures are ſo largely indebted.

4. Miſs S. to Mr H. Oct. 3.

Immane Pompoſo, as Churchill calls him, has been in Lichfield ten days. I am intimately acquainted with his daughter Mrs Porter, whoſe gueſt he is; and I have